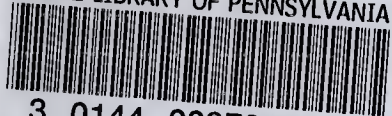


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THE  
**ROMAN HISTORY,**

FROM THE  
**BUILDING OF ROME**

TO THE  
**RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.**

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

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BY  
**N. HOOKE, ESQ.**

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A NEW EDITION, IN ELEVEN VOLUMES.

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**VOL. V.**

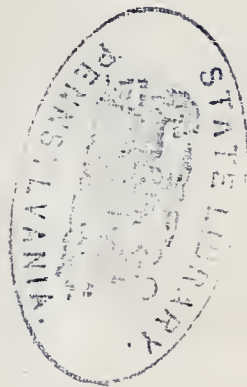
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VOL. V.

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### CHAP. XXIX.

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*Salmon* TWELVE Roman colonies refusing to pay their contingents of men and money, the republic does not think it adviseable to attempt compulsion; and to supply the deficiencies, she has recourse to a treasure long hoarded up in the exchequer, and farms the lands of Campania for the benefit of the public. Marcellus is said to have fought three general battles with Hannibal, in three days' time: in the first, the victory inclines to neither side, in the second the Carthaginians are conquerors, and in the third the Romans. Marcellus, nevertheless, is unable to keep the field while Hannibal ravages Italy, and takes prisoners a body of the enemy's troops that were besieging Caulonia. Tarentum is betrayed into the hands of the consul Fabius, who massacres all the the inhabitants of the town. 544.

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Hannibal.

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546.

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the Metau-  
rus.

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SYPHAX.

MASINISSA.

In Spain, where Scipio (afterwards Africanus) commands the Roman forces, one of his officers defeats two Carthaginian generals, and he himself routs a great army of the enemy. He then sails to Africa, to persuade Syphax to break his treaty with Carthage. Falling sick, at his return to Spain, a report of his death encourages part of his army to mutiny, and some of the Spaniards to rebel. Scipio recovers, quiets the sedition, and punishes the rebels. Masinissa, a Numidian king, enters into a treaty with the proconsul. The Carthaginians abandon Spain, and, there being now no open enemies to the Romans in that country, Scipio returns to Rome. He is no sooner gone than several of the Spanish nations take up arms again, but are quelled on the loss of a battle.



## CHAP. XXXIV.

## FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

Scipio, now consul, has Sicily assigned him for his province, but is extremely desirous of having a commission immediately to transport an army into Africa. Fabius Maximus strenuously opposes his request. The conscript fathers, after a long debate, give him permission to carry the war into Africa, if he shall think it for the interest of the republic. He equips a fleet with great expedition, embarks a body of volunteers, and sets sail for Sicily. In the meantime, Mago, the brother of Hannibal, lands an army in Italy, takes Genoa, and gathers great numbers of the Gauls about him. Two Roman generals march against him, but no action of moment happens. Nor is any thing of importance done in Bruttium, the plague raging in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. Scipio sends Lælius to make a descent upon Africa, and Pleminius to take possession of Locri, which the inhabitants had promised to betray to the Romans. Pleminius succeeds in his enterprise, but exercises unheard-of cruelties upon the Locrians. The Romans, terrified by prodigies, send in great devotion to fetch the goddess Cybele from Phrygia, who works a miracle as soon as she lands.

548.

## CHAP. XXXV.

## FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

The Romans conclude a treaty of peace with Philip of Macedon and his allies. Scipio, now continued in his former command, is accused in the senate, by his quæstor Cato, of profuseness and idleness; and, by the Locrians, of partiality to the cruel Pleminius. Commissioners are appointed to inquire into his conduct. These making a favourable report of the condition of his army, the conscript fathers pass a decree, that he shall immediately go into Africa. Syphax is drawn off from the Roman interest, by means of his wife Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, and enters into an alliance with Carthage. At length Scipio arrives with his army in Africa, where he is joined by Masinissa, who

549.

SOPHO-  
NISBA.

MASINISSA.



had been twice stripped of his dominions by Syphax. After some exploits of little importance, the Roman general lays siege to Utica, but upon the approach of Asdrubal and Syphax with two great armies, retires to a promontory near his fleet, and there entrenches himself. In Italy the campaign produces no remarkable exploit that is well vouched. The censors Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero quarrel, and behave themselves extravagantly.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

### SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

Scipio, having under pretence of negotiating a treaty of peace, got perfect intelligence of the state and disposition of the Carthaginian and Numidian camps, sets fire to them in the night, and destroys the armies of Asdrubal and Syphax. The king and the Carthaginians again take the field with new forces, and are defeated in a pitched battle. Carthage dispatches messengers into Italy, to order Hannibal and Mago to the defence of their native country. In the meantime Masinissa and Lælius pursue Syphax into the heart of his dominions, vanquish him in battle, and take him prisoner. Cyrtha, the capital of his kingdom, surrenders to Masinissa, who, captivated by the charms of Sophonisba, promises her protection against the Romans; and, as the best means to perform his promise, marries her immediately. Syphax, being brought in chains to Scipio's camp, insinuates to the general that Sophonisba's power over her new husband would soon make him regardless of his engagements with the republic. The Roman therefore insists upon Masinissa's delivering up his wife, as the captive of the people of Rome; and the Numidian, seeing no way to protect her, sends her a cup of poison, which she resolutely drinks off. Carthage, to gain time for Hannibal and Mago to arrive in Africa, proposes a treaty of peace with Scipio, and consents to the articles he dictates. Two Roman generals, uniting their forces, obtain a victory over Mago in Insubria, who being wounded in the action, dies at sea, in his voyage to Africa. Hannibal, receiving a command from Carthage to return home, leaves Italy with great reluctance; and the Romans order public thanksgivings to the gods for

Hannibal  
leaves  
Italy.

his departure. The senate approves the conditions of peace proposed by Scipio. During the truce, the Carthaginians plunder some Roman ships, driven by stress of weather upon their coast; and afterwards offer violence to certain ambassadors whom Scipio had sent to demand satisfaction. In the meantime, Hannibal arrives safely in Africa.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

### THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

While Scipio, provoked at the perfidiousness of the Carthaginians, pursues the war with uncommon fury, Hannibal approaches with his army, and encamps near Zama. There having asked and obtained a conference with the Roman general, he proposes terms of peace, which Scipio rejects. Next day a decisive battle is fought, wherein victory declares for the Romans. Carthage makes humble supplications to Scipio for peace, and, by the advice of Hannibal, submits to the conditions proposed, which, after several debates, are the next year agreed to by the senate of Rome. Scipio having, in concert with ten commissioners, settled the affairs of Africa, returns home, has a magnificent triumph, and acquires the surname of Africanus.

551.

Battle of  
ZAMA.

552.

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## BOOK V.

*From the End of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, in the Year of Rome 552, to the End of the THIRD in 607.*

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## CHAP. I.

### FIRST MACEDONIAN WAR.

Rome, having broke the power of Carthage, begins to think of extending her domination to the east, and with this view seeks matter of quarrel against Philip of Macedonia. On pretence that he had attacked her allies in Greece and Asia, and assisted her enemies in Africa, she declares war against him, and appoints the consul Sulpi-

553. cius to conduct it. King Philip, in the meantime, crosses the Hellespont, and besieges Abydos. There he has a conference with some Roman ambassadors, which ends without any prospect of an accommodation. After the reduction of Abydos, he returns to Greece, where the Romans had pillaged Chalcis. He makes a fruitless attempt upon Athens, and vainly endeavours to engage the Achæans in his interest. In Italy, the prætor Fulvius defeats an army of Gauls, commanded by Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, whom Mago had left in that country. Masinissa and Carthage make presents to Rome; and Vermina, the son of Syphax, is received into the favour of the republic.

## CHAP. II.

554. The Ætolians decline taking part in the war between Rome and Macedon. After some skirmishes, Philip is defeated in battle near Octolophum, by Sulpicius, who then resigns his command to the consul Villius. Philip gains a victory over the Ætolians, who had now declared for the Romans. The king of Syria, at the request of the senate of Rome, desists from the war he was carrying on against the king of Pergamus. Philip, after a fruitless conference with Flamininus, (the successor of Villius) is driven from his camp by the Romans; who, after this victory, make themselves masters of several towns in Thessaly. The Achæans enter into an alliance with Rome, on a promise of having Corinth reunited to their state. It is agreed between Philip, Flamininus, and the chiefs of the Roman allies, to refer all differences to the arbitration of the Roman senate. The fathers, not satisfied with Philip's ambassadors, give full powers to Flamininus to pursue the war, or make peace, as he shall think proper, and the war is continued. Philip, to secure Argos, which the year before had surrendered to Philocles, one of his generals, gives it up to Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, upon condition of its being restored to him, in case he should be conqueror in the war. The tyrant, to maintain himself in possession of the town, immediately enters into a treaty with Flamininus. This general, by a fraud, seizes upon Thebes, where the Bœotian diet is assembled; upon which they are obliged to enter into an alliance with Rome.

FLAMINI-  
NUS.



Attalus, king of Pergamus, dies. Philip being defeated at Cynocephalæ, offers to submit to whatever conditions of peace the Roman senate shall please to impose. The republic carries on a war with success in Gaul; but in Spain her army is routed, and the prætor who commanded it killed in the action. The senate grant a peace to Philip, on conditions displeasing to the Ætolians. Liberty to Greece is soon after proclaimed, by order of Flaminius, at the Isthmian games.

Battle of  
Cynoc-  
phalæ.

557.

### CHAP. III.

Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, enters Thrace with an army, purposing to erect a kingdom there for one of his sons. The Romans take umbrage at the proceedings of the Syrian, and send some ambassadors to order him to quit Europe. The Roman ladies take infinite pains to get a repeal of the Oppian law, which limited the finery of their dress and equipage. Cato strenuously opposes them, yet they carry their point, by the assistance of two tribunes of the people. Cato embarks for Spain, and conducts the war with success in that country. Hannibal having disoblged some of the Carthaginian nobles, by certain new regulations beneficial to the state, is, by those nobles, accused at Rome, of holding correspondence with Antiochus. The Romans send ambassadors to Carthage, to procure the death of the accused; but he escapes the danger by flying his country, and taking refuge in the Syrian court. Preparations are begun at Rome for a war against Antiochus; and, lest Nabis of Lacedæmon should join him, Flaminius has permission to turn the Roman arms against Nabis. All the Greek states, except the Ætolians, agree to assist Flaminius in this war; the chief pretence for which is, to restore freedom to Argos. Flaminius marches to Lacedæmon, and besieges it. Nabis at length submits to the conditions of peace dictated by the Roman general; and, to the dissatisfaction of the Ætolians and Achæans, is suffered to continue master of Lacedæmon. (Argos had recovered its liberty, by an insurrection of its inhabitants.) Flaminius leaves Greece, and returns to Rome, where he is honoured with a triumph. Ambassadors from the king of Syria arrive at Rome, to ask an alliance with the republic. Their negotiation does not succeed; the senate despatches to An-

ANTIOCHUS  
the Great.

558.

Oppian law  
repealed.

CATO, the  
elder.  
Hannibal  
escapes  
from Car-  
thage to  
K. Antio-  
chus.

559.

560.

Antiochus the same ambassadors who had been with him in Thrace. Hannibal advises him to attack the Romans in Italy, and endeavours to draw the Carthaginians into the war. The latter complain at Rome of the encroachments of Masinissa. The injustice of the Romans with regard to Carthage.

#### CHAP. IV.

561. The Ætolians and Nabis raise commotions in Greece. Antiochus, after some fruitless conferences with the Roman ambassadors, calls a council, in order to deliberate about a war with Rome. Hannibal, on account of his familiar intercourse with the Roman ambassadors, being suspected of favouring their cause, is not consulted. He endeavours to clear himself in a speech to the king. The council determine for war. In Greece, Philopœmen, at the head of the Achæans, makes war with success against the tyrant Nabis. The Ætolians pass a decree, inviting Antiochus to come into Europe. They seize upon Demetrias, and assassinate Nabis. Antiochus lands in Greece with a small army; and endeavours, without success, to bring over Chalcis and the Achæans to his party. He reduces Eubœa; and the Bœotians submit to him. Hannibal's advice with regard to the method of carrying on the war. Philip of Macedon declares for the Romans. Antiochus marries the daughter of his host, and passes the winter at Chalcis in feasting and diversions.

Philopœ-  
men.

#### CHAP. V.

##### WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT.

562. Rome declares war against Antiochus. The consul Acilius routs the Syrians at Thermopylæ, drives their king into Asia, and reduces the Ætolians to great extremities. Flamininus takes the island Zacynthus from the Achæans. Philip recovers many places he had lost in his war with the Romans. The Ætolians obtain leave of the consul to send deputies to Rome to treat of peace. Livius, the Roman admiral, obtains a victory over the Syrian fleet. The Ætolians refuse to submit to the conditions proposed
563. by the conscript fathers. Lucius Scipio, the consul, assisted by his brother Africanus, is appointed to act against Antiochus in Asia.

## CHAP. VI.

Antiochus invades Pergamus, but on the news of Scipio's approach, asks a peace of the Roman admiral. His petition is rejected. Hannibal, with a squadron of ships under his command, is blocked up in a port of Pamphylia by the Rhodians. Antiochus, after a vain attempt to engage Prusias, king of Bithynia, in his quarrel, orders Polyxenidas, the Syrian admiral, to attack the Roman fleet. The Syrians are totally defeated; and the king, in a fright, withdraws his garrisons from Lysimachia, in Thrace, and from Abydos, which commanded the Hellespont. The consular army having passed into Asia without opposition, Antiochus immediately sends to Scipio proposals of peace. Not succeeding in this negotiation, he ventures a battle with the enemy, is vanquished, and submits to the conditions imposed by the consul.

## CHAP. VII.

The Ætolians raise new troubles in Greece. Eumenes, of Pergamus, asks of the conscript fathers all the countries they had taken from Antiochus. The Rhodians oppose his request. It is resolved that the conquered countries shall be divided between him and them. A peace is at length granted to the Ætolians. The consul Manlius reduces the Gallo-Greeks in Asia. Philopœmen forces the Lacedæmonians to renounce the laws of Lycurgus, and subject themselves to those of Achaia. Ten commissioners from Rome, in conjunction with the proconsul Manlius, finish the treaty with Antiochus, and settle affairs in Asia. Manlius, in his return home, is attacked by a body of Thracians, and loses great part of the booty he had taken from the Gallo-Greeks.

## CHAP. VIII.

Scipio Africanus, and his brother Lucius, are successively accused, before the Roman people, of taking bribes from Antiochus, and embezzling the public money. Africanus refuses to answer, and at length retires to Liternum, where he dies. Lucius is condemned; and, on his refus-

564.  
565.  
566.  
Scipio retires from Rome in disgust.



- ing to pay the fine imposed, all his effects are confiscated.  
 567. A society of debauchees formed at Rome, and calling themselves Bacchanalians, is suppressed and punished.

CHAP. IX.

568. The Romans, jealous of the growing power of PHILIP of MACEDON, send ambassadors into Greece, to take cognizance of his proceedings. They strip him of all the towns he had recovered from the Greeks, in the war with ANTIOCHUS, and order him to evacuate Ænus and Maronæa, which EUMENES claimed as appendages of Chersonesus and  
 569. Lysimachia, granted to him by the senate. PHILIP, to revenge himself on the people of Maronæa, who, had complained of his tyranny, contrives to have a body of Thracians admitted into the town, where they exercise all the cruelties of war. The Romans expressing much dissatisfaction with the king's conduct, he resolves to employ his son DEMETRIUS to sooth the conscript fathers, with whom the young prince had acquired much favour when a hostage at Rome. APPIUS CLAUDIUS, the Roman ambassador, treats the Achæans with great haughtiness, in relation to some complaints made against them by the Lacedæmonians.

CHAP. X.

Cato chosen censor.

CATO, after great opposition by the nobles, is chosen censor. His conduct in that office.

CHAP. XI.

570. Many complaints are brought to Rome against PHILIP of Macedon. His son Demetrius pleads for him in the senate; and, out of regard to the young prince, the fathers send an ambassador into Macedon, to settle affairs with the king in an amicable manner. The Messenians break off from the Achæan association, and take up arms. PHILPÆMEN, in a skirmish with them, is made prisoner, and afterwards put to death. FLAMININUS, the Roman ambassador to Prusias of Bithynia, demands of the king to give up HANNIBAL, who had taken refuge in his court. The Carthaginian, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, puts an end to his own life by poison.

Hannibal kills himself.



## CHAP. XII.

The Achæan ambassadors having demanded of the Roman senate assistance against the Messenians, receive a rough answer; but are civilly treated, on the news that LYCORTAS, the successor of PHILOPÆMEN, has reduced the Messenians to surrender at discretion. While PHILIP of Macedon is busy in forming projects for strengthening his kingdom, there breaks out, between his two sons PERSES and DEMETRIUS, a quarrel, which at length proves fatal to the latter.

571.

## CHAP. XIII.

Transactions of the Romans, from the year 572 to 578.

## CHAP. XIV.

After the death of PHILIP, his son PERSES succeeds him in the throne. He renews the treaty with Rome, is recognized king by the Roman senate, and applies himself to gain the good-will of the Greeks. The Bastarnæ, a nation on the Danube, who had been invited into Macedon by PHILIP, enter Dardania. The Romans, on this occasion, discover their jealousy of PERSES. He makes a journey into Greece, and endeavours to renew the ancient friendship between the Macedonians and Achæans.

PERSES,  
king of  
Macedon.

578.

579.

## CHAP. XV.

The consul Popillius vanquishes the Statelliates, a people of Liguria, and treats them with great cruelty. EUMENES, king of Pergamus, accuses PERSES, in the senate of Rome, of designs against the republic. Assassins, hired by PERSES, attempt to murder the Pergamenian in his return home. PERSES is accused of plotting to take off by poison certain Roman generals and ambassadors. The Carthaginians make new complaints at Rome of MASI-  
NISSA's usurpations. Some Roman ambassadors report to the senate the ill reception they had met with at the court of Macedon.

580.

581.

EUMENES,  
king of Per-  
gamus.

## CHAP. XVI.

## SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR.

Rome declares war against PERSES. The dispositions of the Greek and Asiatic states at this time. At the elec-

582.

tion of centurions for the army designed against Macedon, twenty-three of them refuse to serve, and appeal to the tribunes of the people; but afterwards one of the appellants drops his appeal, and persuades the rest to follow his example. Ambassadors from PERSES sue in vain to the conscript fathers for peace. The Macedonian asks a conference with MARCIUS the Roman ambassador in Greece, who artfully grants the king a truce, in order to gain time till the consul should arrive with his army. It is agreed, that PERSES should send ambassadors to Rome, to negotiate a peace. MARCIUS contrives to dissolve the Bœotian league. The Rhodians declare for the Romans. The senate will hearken to no overtures from PERSES's ambassadors.

## CHAP. XVII.

PERSES draws together his forces, enters Thessaly, takes some towns, and secures the pass of Tempe, while the consul LICINIUS advances through Athamania to oppose him. The king having gained a victory over the Roman cavalry and auxiliaries, LICINIUS, through fear, decamps in the night, and posts himself behind the river Peneus; yet he refuses a peace to the Macedonian, on any terms but his surrendering himself and his kingdom at discretion. M. LUCRETIUS robs GENTIUS (an Illyrian king) of his fleet. The Roman admiral makes himself master of Haliartus in Bœotia. CASSIUS, the consul, attempting to make his way from Gaul into Macedon, is recalled by the senate. During the winter, PERSES defeats the Thracians. Epirus, or great part of it, revolts to him. The new consul HOSTILIUS makes two unsuccessful attempts to penetrate into Macedon. APPIUS CLAUDIUS is twice defeated in Illyricum. The people of Alabanda deify the city of Rome.

583.

ROME  
made a  
goddess.

## CHAP. XVIII.

584. Q. MARCIUS, the Roman consul, having penetrated into Macedon, PERSES in a fright abandons Dium, withdraws his garrisons from Tempe, and his guards from the passes into Macedon, orders his treasures at Pella to be thrown into the sea, and his naval stores at Thessalonica to be burnt. The Roman general, for want of provisions, leaves his new conquest, but possesses himself of the fortresses of

Tempe. Hereupon PERSES returns to Dium, repairs its fortifications, and strongly entrenches himself on the banks of the Enipeus. POLYBIUS, at the desire of MARCIUS, POLYBIUS. hinders the Achæans from sending a supply of soldiers to APPIUS CLAUDIUS in Illyricum.

## CHAP. XIX.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS is chosen consul at Rome, and has 585. the conduct of the war in Macedon assigned to him. EUMENES being dissatisfied with the Romans, PERSES endeavours to draw him from their alliance. The Pergamenian proposes, for a certain sum of money, to stand neuter; and, for a greater sum, to procure the Macedonian a peace. But, the two kings suspecting each other of dishonesty, the negotiation breaks off. PERSES engages king GENTIUS of Illyricum to begin a war with Rome, and then defrauds him of a sum of money he had promised him. The Macedonian refusing to fulfil his engagements with the Bastarnæ, whom he had invited to his aid, they return into their own country.

## CHAP. XX.

In thirty days time, the prætor ANICIUS finishes the war in Illyricum, GENTIUS surrenders himself, and his dominions, at discretion. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS forces PERSES to abandon the Enipeus, and soon after defeats him in battle at Pydna. The king, deserted by his subjects, takes refuge in the isle of Samothrace; and the whole kingdom of Macedon submits to the conqueror. PERSES, after an attempt to escape from Samothrace, surrenders himself to the prætor OCTAVIUS, who sends him prisoner to the consul. ÆMILIUS PAULLUS.  
Battle of PYDNA.

## CHAP. XXI.

Certain ambassadors, whom the Rhodians, in the view of mediating a peace between PERSES and the Romans, had sent to Rome, are admitted to audience after the news of the victory at Pydna, and roughly treated by the senate. ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, at the command of the senate, intimated to him by their ambassador POPILIUS, retires from Egypt, when just upon the point of finishing the conquest of it. The kings of Syria, Egypt, and Numidia, congratulate the Romans on their victory over Antiochus Epiphanes.  
586.



**PERSES.** **ANICIUS** reduces Epirus, and, in conjunction with five commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Illyricum. The præconsul **ÆMILIUS**, assisted by ten commissioners, divides the kingdom of Macedon into four cantons, independent of each other, and makes them tributary to Rome. Five hundred and fifty Ætolians being inhumanly massacred by some of their countrymen, the murderers are acquitted by **ÆMILIUS** and his colleagues. Many of the Ætolians, Acarnanians, Epirots, and Bœotians, and above a thousand of the principal men of Achaia, being suspected of disaffection to the Romans, are summoned to take their trial at Rome. **ÆMILIUS** despatches his son **FABIUS**, and **SCIPIO NASICA**, to ravage the country of the Illyrians; and, in one day, by treachery, plunders seventy towns of the Epirots, and reduces 150,000 of the inhabitants to slavery. At his return to Rome, his own soldiers oppose his having a triumph; which, however, is at length granted him. **PERSES** is sent prisoner to Alba, (in the country of the Marsi) where he dies. The senate of Rome restore to **COTYS**, king of the Odrysians in Thrace, his son, who had been a hostage in Macedon, and taken prisoner by **ÆMILIUS**.

THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. XXIX.

TENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

*Some of the Roman colonies refuse to contribute to the expenses of the war. Marcellus is vanquished by Hannibal; but the day following gains a victory over him. Fabius Cunctator gets possession of Tarentum.*

THE dictator Fulvius, having artfully carried on his intrigues to promote his own election to the consulship, called together the *comitia*, and was there named consul, with Fabius Maximus Cunctator, by the first century which voted; and the rest of the centuries seemed inclined to the same choice. But two of the tribunes interposed, alleging, "That it was dangerous to the constitution to allow a continuation of magistracy in the same person; and to suffer presidents of the *comitia* to pervert their authority to serve their private purposes;" and they declared, that they would "dissolve

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eight.

243d Consulship.  
Livy, B. 27.  
c. 6.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eight.

243d Con-  
sulship.

the assembly if the dictator did not desist from his pretension. Fulvius, however, justified the proceedings of the *comitia* by a law made just after the battle of Thrasymenus, allowing the people to choose the same men to the consulship as often as they pleased, while the war should last in Italy; and by the examples of Posthumius Metellus and Fabius Maximus, who, at different times being presidents of the *comitia*, had been elected consuls by the assemblies in which they presided. After some time spent in these disputes, it was at length agreed, that the matter should be referred to the senate. The conscript fathers, pleased with the choice that had been made of two such able generals, declared, that neither the dictatorship nor presidentship of Fulvius disqualified him for being chosen consul.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 9.

It was necessary at this time to raise recruits, and to send some forces into Sicily in the place of two legions drawn from thence to serve in Italy; but this affair had like to have occasioned a rebellion. The Latins and allies of Rome murmured at the continuation of a war, which drained their countries of their people and their wealth. Nay, twelve out of thirty Roman colonies that had been planted in the provinces conquered by the republic, absolutely refused to furnish their contingents, either of men or money; alleging that they really were not in a condition to do it. But the other eighteen complied, and declared themselves

ready to enlarge their quotas, if necessary. The agents of these faithful and affectionate colonies received the thanks of the senate, and of the people in full *comitia*. As for the twelve, it was thought proper, at this juncture, to show a contempt of them, and to neglect their contributions, rather than extort them by violence, which would probably throw these colonies into the Carthaginian interest. To supply the deficiency occasioned by their refusal, recourse was had to a treasure which had been long hoarded up in the exchequer. From the year 396, the republic had reserved to herself the twentieth part of the purchase money of every slave's freedom. The produce had been kept against the day of necessity, and was now first applied to the public use. It amounted to four thousand pounds weight of gold, which was all distributed among the generals for the expenses of the war. The censors also requested of the senate, that the territory of Campania, from which the old possessors had been driven, should be disposed of after the best manner, for the benefit of the public. Their petition being referred to the people, the latter decreed, that those vast plains, and fruitful hills, should be farmed out, and the rents paid into the public treasury.

And now, the season of the year, and the motions of Hannibal, drew the consuls from Rome. Fabius undertook to besiege Tarentum, whilst Fulvius and Marcellus were to

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sulship.

Plut. Life of  
Marcellus.  
Livy, B. 27.  
c. 12, 13.

oppose the enterprises of the Carthaginian. Marcellus thinking himself, of all the Roman generals, the fittest match for Hannibal, marched out of his winter quarters as soon as there was grass in the fields, and came up with the enemy near Canusium in Apulia. The Carthaginian retired, because the country was open and unfit for ambushes. Marcellus followed him, pitched his camp near him, and offered battle. Hannibal would have avoided a general action, but was at length forced to it. The Roman attacked him as he was encamping; and the engagement lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. Next morning, as soon as it was light, Marcellus again drew out his forces; nor did Hannibal decline the challenge. He harangued his men, putting them in mind of Thrasymenus and Cannæ, and exhorting them to repress the audacious temerity of their enemies, who would not permit them either to march or to encamp in quiet, or give them time to breathe or look about them. “The rising sun,” said he, “and the Roman army, daily appear to us at the same instant. Shall we bear this? One single victory will free us from an importunate enemy that is more rash than formidable.” The Carthaginian soldiers, thus animated by their general, and vexed at being continually harassed by the Romans, behaved themselves with uncommon resolution in the battle. Marcellus was now vanquished; his whole army routed; he lost two thousand

seven hundred men. Not being used to suffer these indignities, he showed his resentment, by bitterly reproaching his troops with cowardice. They readily owned their fault, asked pardon, and protested that they would expose themselves to any danger he should think fit, with a resolution either to die or conquer. "Prepare then," replied the general, "to perform your promises to-morrow, and to merit the forgiveness you desire." Next morning the legionaries were ready to march by break of day. Marcellus declared that he would place in the first line those manipuli which had behaved themselves dishonourably; and he urged them all to exert themselves in such a manner as to wipe off their shame: "Let not Rome," said he, "be informed of yesterday's defeat before she hears of this day's victory." He then ordered them to refresh themselves well with food, that their strength might not fail, in case the battle should prove long; which done, he marched them out of the camp, and formed them as usual. Hannibal, surprised at this unexpected challenge from the Roman general, "What!" cried he, "we have to do then with a man that can bear neither good nor bad fortune. When victorious, he gives his enemy no repose, nor takes any himself when he is vanquished." Which said, he gave orders for the trumpets to sound, and drew his men out into the field. This battle was more sharp than that of the day before. At length the Romans

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Plut. Life of  
Marcellus.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 14, 15.

prevailed by driving the elephants, which Hannibal brought against them, back upon his own troops. For by this means the Carthaginians were thrown into the utmost confusion; and two of those great beasts falling down just in the gate of their camp, stopped up the entrance of it; so that the runaways were forced to make their way with difficulty over the ditch and rampart, which occasioned a great slaughter of them. Hannibal lost eight thousand men. However, Marcellus bought his victory dear. Three thousand of his legionaries were killed upon the spot, and almost all the rest wounded; he led his scattered forces to Venusia, and could not take the field again that campaign<sup>1</sup>. Hannibal decamped the night after his defeat, retired into Bruttium, raised the siege of Caulonia, and took the besiegers prisoners. They consisted of eight thousand men besides Brut-

<sup>1</sup> These battles of Marcellus, as they are told by Livy, and nearly copied by Plutarch, have very much the air of a romance. Three general battles are fought in three days' time. In the first, victory inclines to neither side; in the second, Hannibal is conqueror; and, in the third, Marcellus. And what is as strange, Marcellus, when conqueror, was less able to keep the field than when he was vanquished. He lay idle all the summer, (for which he was afterwards impeached at Venusia) while Hannibal, master of the open country, continued his ravages in Italy. "Vagante per Italiam Annibale, media æstate, Venusiam, in tecta, milites abduxisset." *Liv. B. 27. c. 20.* It is also to be observed, that Polybius knew nothing of these Roman victories, for he expressly tells us, that Hannibal was never vanquished in any battle or engagement till that of Zama. *Polyb. B. 15. c. 11. and 16.*



tian deserters, and had been sent by Fabius upon that enterprise, under the conduct of the governor of Rhegium. About this time the Hirpini, the Lucani, and the Volcenses submitted to the consul Fulvius. Some of the Bruttians also sent deputies to him, who were well received: but this negotiation had little success, probably because of the presence of Hannibal.

As for Fabius, who had undertaken the reduction of Tarentum, (in which Hannibal had placed a garrison, consisting partly of his old troops, and partly of new levies raised among the Bruttians) while he was with all prudence making his preparations for the siege, a young Tarentine, who served in his army, came and discovered to him a secret, which he thought might be of use in the present enterprise. He told the general, "that he had a sister in Tarentum, whose beauty had captivated the commander of the Bruttian troops there; that he believed he could gain over his sister to the Roman interest; and that, if so, she could undoubtedly engage her lover in the same cause." Fabius thinking the project feasible, suffered the young man to return to his native city, as a deserter. The Tarentine conducted himself with so much art, that he soon gained his point. The sixth night after the attacks began, he returned to the consul, and informed him of his success, and when and where the Bruttian officer would be ready to let the Romans into

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Plut. Life of  
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the place. The plot was happily executed; and when the Romans had surprised the town, they spared neither Carthaginians, Tarentines, nor even Bruttians. Some authors lay the blame of this odious massacre on Fabius himself, who, they say, gave these cruel orders, lest, if he spared the Bruttians, so important a conquest should be imputed more to treachery than to his prudence and bravery; a conduct not suitable to his general character.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 16.

The riches found in this maritime city were, according to Livy, immense: the quæstors received, for the public treasury, eighty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold; but Plutarch, with more probability, reckons the sum at only three thousand talents\*. As to the pictures and statues, Fabius had not the taste of Marcellus; and therefore, when he was asked what he would have done with those masterpieces of painting and sculpture, he answered, "Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry gods;" alluding to the attitudes in which the gods of Tarentum were represented: for, after the Lacedæmonian manner, they had generally swords in their hands, and were in fighting postures. Nevertheless he carried to Rome a brazen colossus of Hercules, which had been cast by the famous Lysippus; and it was placed in the capitol, with an equestrian statue of Fabius near it.

\* 581,250l.  
Arbuth.

Strabo, p.  
278.  
Plin, B. 34.  
c. 7.  
Plut, Life of  
Fabius.

The unexpected news of the siege of Tarentum drew Hannibal from Bruttium. He

marched night and day, and doubted not to come time enough to relieve it; and it was with the greatest astonishment he received the account, when within five miles of the city, of its being taken: "Nay then," said he, "the Romans have their Hannibal too; we have lost Tarentum by the same art that we took it." However, that he might not seem to fly before the enemy, he did not immediately turn back, but encamped on the place where he heard the news. At length he marched to Metapontus, a city in his interest, and there invented a stratagem, which had like to have fatally deceived the cautious Fabius. He sent two of the inhabitants with letters to the consul, from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place, and the Carthaginian garrison into his hands, if he would promise an oblivion for what was past. Fabius, not suspecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambush prepared for him, if the augurs and haruspices, who had probably better intelligence than the general, had not detained him in the camp, by declaring that the presages were all unfortunate. Hannibal, impatient of Fabius's delays, sent new emissaries; but these being arrested, and terrified by threatenings of severe punishment, confessed the secret.

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Two hundred eight.  
243d Consulship.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 16.



## CHAP. XXX.

## THE ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

*The consul Marcellus slain, and his colleague at the same time mortally wounded.*

*Favourable accounts from Sicily and from Greece.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven.

244th Con-  
sulship.

MARCELLUS had been accused, before the *comitia*, for inaction the last campaign; nevertheless he was chosen consul for the new year, with T. Quinctius Crispinus. When they had taken the field, the latter, ambitious of signalizing himself by the conquest of some important place, cast his eyes on Locri, a maritime city of that part of south Italy, now called Further Calabria: but being afraid to engage with Hannibal, who advanced towards him, he postponed his expedition, and hastened to join his colleague Marcellus. The two consuls, having conferred together, determined not to drop the enterprise upon Locri. They commanded Cincius, admiral of the fleet appointed to guard the coasts of Italy and Sicily, to invest the place by sea, and at the same time ordered a body of troops, then in garrison at Tarentum, to go and besiege it by land: but these latter were surprised by Hannibal in their march, two thousand of them killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The Carthaginian, however, declined a battle with the united forces of the consuls; and watched for an opportunity to deceive his enemies by artifice.



Between his intrenchments, and those of the Romans, was a little hill, from which either camp might be annoyed; and the Roman soldiers were equally surprised at Hannibal's neglect of it, and impatient to take possession of it themselves. They even murmured at their generals not being so quick as they would have them, to seize such an advantageous post: hereupon Marcellus and his colleague, with a guard of two hundred and twenty horse, went to view the eminence. Hannibal had hid a detachment of Numidians in the cavities of the hill, and under the bushes, which covered it. His design was to intercept those of the Romans that should straggle from their camp. The Numidians coming out of their ambush, surprised and surrounded the two consuls and their guard; and Marcellus, in the attempt to retreat, was killed: his son, and the other consul, were wounded.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred seven.

244th Consulship.

Plut. Life of  
Marcellus.  
Livy, B. 27.  
c. 27, 28.

Hannibal, informed of Marcellus's death, went immediately to the place where the body lay, and, at the sight of it, showed no marks of joy, but seemed rather to pity the misfortune of so great a man, who had fallen in a manner unworthy of him. Yet his first care was to take off the ring, which the dead consul had on his finger, and with which he used to seal his despatches. He then caused the body to be laid on a funeral pile, and burnt; and, having gathered the ashes into a silver urn, sent them to young Marcellus the son.

The surviving consul decamped the following c. 28.

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R O M E  
DXLV.  
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Two hun-  
dred seven.  
244th Con-  
sulship.

night, retired to the nearest mountains, and posted himself on a steep ascent. And fearing lest Hannibal should make a mischievous use of the ring he had taken from Marcellus, he despatched couriers to all the neighbouring cities in the interest of Rome, to prevent their being deceived by letters, which might be sent to them in Marcellus's name. By this prudent step Salapia in Apulia was preserved: nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himself. He had sent a Roman deserter with letters, as from Marcellus, to give them notice that he would be there the next night, and that they should prepare to receive him. The Salapians seemed to suffer themselves to be cheated, and admitted into the town six hundred of Hannibal's men, (chosen out of the Roman deserters, that their language might not betray the design;) but then on a sudden, the inhabitants letting fall the portcullis, surprised and slew those who had entered, and with a shower of darts from the ramparts drove back the rest.

This unsuccessful expedition did not so far discourage Hannibal as to hinder him from marching to the relief of Locri, now invested by sea and land. And upon the first appearance of his Numidian horse, the besiegers were so terrified, that Cincius, the admiral of the Roman fleet, embarked the land forces on board his galleys, left all his machines behind him, and sailed away for Rome.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 29.

In the meantime Quinctius, whose wounds

were mortal, and who, having left his post in the mountains, was now with his army at Capua, sent letters to the senate, acquainting them with the death of his colleague, and that he himself was drawing near his end; and desiring that the fathers would send some persons to him, of prudence and integrity, with whom he might entrust the affairs of the republic. Accordingly three senators were commissioned to receive his last advices; and, at their request, he nominated a dictator to hold the *comitia* for the new elections. He named T. Manlius Torquatus.

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R O M E  
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Two hun-  
dred seven.

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sulship.

The Romans, during this unfortunate campaign, received the agreeable news from Sicily, that Valerius Lævinus, who commanded an hundred sail of ships, had made a descent on Africa, brought thence much booty, and afterwards defeated a Carthaginian fleet off Clypea. And the advices from the proconsul Sulpicius, of the state of affairs in Greece, were not unfavourable. The Ætolians had received assistance from Attalus, king of Pergamus, and being also joined by a thousand Romans, had ventured to march against Philip; and though he defeated them in two battles, he could not prevail with them to desert the interest of Rome. He had also attacked the Roman army, while they were pillaging the country about Corinth, and forced them aboard their ships with loss: but Sulpicius being joined by the Ætolians and Eleans, surprised the king near Elis, and gained some advantage over him. Next day Philip hearing that the

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 30.



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R O M E  
DXLV.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven.

244th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 32.

c. 33.

country people were gathered together at a fortress called Pyrgus, (in order to defend their cattle, which they had driven thither as to a place of safety) he set upon them, took 4000 prisoners, and 20,000 cattle of all kinds. After this, he was obliged to return into his own country, to put a stop to the irruptions of the Dardans, which a report of his death had occasioned; so that Rome had no reason to fear the Macedonian's coming suddenly to join Hannibal.

#### CHAP. XXXI.

*The Romans are alarmed by the approach of Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, with an army from Spain.*

*A summary account of the Roman affairs in that country, from the first landing of the Scipios there, to the time of Asdrubal's leaving it.*

BUT now the chief care of the senate was to fill up the vacant consulship with two men who would be equal to that important charge, at a time when, beside the difficulties they had already to struggle with, a new and dreadful storm was driving towards Rome from the Alps. For Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, had left Spain with an army of 60,000 men, and was crossing those mountains, in order to join him in the heart of Italy; a danger, than which none could have a more gloomy, a more threatening aspect to the republic.

The Roman affairs in Spain have been hither but lightly touched. And indeed a



credible and consistent account of what passed in that country, while the Scipios commanded there, to the departure of Asdrubal, is not easy to be formed out of the historians and geographers. Let the collection and observations, made by a judicious and able writer, supply the defect of the present work, in this particular.

“ The acts of these two brethren [Publius and Cn. Scipio] in their province were very great, and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in Spain against the Carthaginians, whom they vanquished in so many battles, and withdrew from their alliance so many of the Spaniards their confederates, that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliver the country from the tyranny of Carthage, might easily win unto their confederacy as many as were galled with the African yoke, and durst adventure to break it; so the ancient reputation of the first conquerors might serve to arm the natives against these galled invaders, and to reclaim those that had revolted unto the Romans, were it only by the memory of such ill success as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added, the Carthaginian treasure, which easily raised soldiers amongst those valiant, but (in that age) poor and gold-thirsty nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the Spaniards had

Sir Walter  
Raleigh's  
Hist. of the  
World, B. 5.  
c. 3. Sect.  
11.

their children, kinsmen, and friends abroad with Hannibal in his Italian wars, or serving the Carthaginians in Afric. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the Scipios were neither so many nor so great as they are set out by Livy. This we may be bold to say, that the great captain Fabius, or Livy in his person, maketh an objection unto Scipio, which neither Scipio, nor Livy for him, doth answer; that if Asdrubal were vanquished, as Scipio would say, by him in Spain, strange it was, and as little to his honour as it had been extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade Italy. And indeed it is an incredible narration, that Asdrubal, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battle, save only by the steep descent of rocks, over a great river that lay at his back, ran away with all his money, elephants, and broken troops, over Tagus, directly towards the Pyrenees, and so toward Italy; upon which he fell with more than threescore thousand armed soldiers. Neither do I see how it hangs well together, that he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet that he sent all his money and elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy; or how it could be true, that these his elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the Romans (for so are they said to have done in the last battle between him and Scipio) from breaking into his

camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all Carthaginian records of this war, and Spanish (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell us; unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the Scipios in Spain; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

“Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporiæ, a haven-  
 town, not far within the Pyrenees, retaining  
 still the name with little inflection\*. That by  
 the fame of his clemency he allured many na-  
 tions to become subject unto Rome, as the  
 story begins of him, I could easily believe, if  
 I understood by what occasion they had need  
 to use his clemency, or he to give such famous  
 example thereof, being a mere stranger, and  
 having no jurisdiction in the country. Yet it  
 is certain that he was a man very courteous,  
 and one that could well insinuate himself into  
 the love of the barbarians; among whom his  
 dexterity in practice had the better success, for  
 that he seemed to have none other errand than  
 setting them at liberty. This pretext availed  
 with some; others were to be hired with money;  
 and some he compelled to yield by force or fear;  
 especially when he had won a battle against  
 Hanno. Into all treaties of accord made with  
 these people, likely it is that he remembered  
 to insert this article, which the Romans in their  
 alliances never forgot unless in long times past, or

Year of  
R O M E  
DXXXV.

Livy, B. 21,  
c. 60.

\* Ampuri-  
as, a town  
in Catalo-  
nia.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXXXV.

Orat. pro  
Corn. Balb.


Polyb. B. 3.  
c. 34.

and when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or their superiors, *Majestatem populi Romani comiter conservent*, which is, as Tully interprets it, ‘that they should gently (or kindly) uphold the majesty of the people of Rome.’ This was in appearance nothing troublesome, yet implied in it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, that the Spaniards became *ditionis Romanæ*, ‘of the Roman jurisdiction;’ though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the country wherein Scipio landed was newly subdued by Hannibal in his passage towards Italy, and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience: particularly the Bargusians. Hannibal had found, at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the Roman greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not only appointed Hanno governor over them, as over the rest of the province between Iberus and the Pyrenees, but made him also their lord; that is (as I conceive it, for I do not think he gave the principality of their country to Hanno and his heirs) he made him not only lieutenant-general over them, in matters of war, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage, but took from them all inferior officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by Hanno at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoice at the coming of Scipio, with whom others also, no doubt,



found reasons to join: it being the custom of all conquered nations, in hatred of their present lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. This bad affection of this province would not suffer Hanno to temporize. Ten thousand foot and a thousand horse Hannibal had left unto him; besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his province. Therefore he adventured a battle with Scipio; wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, Scipio besieged Cissa, a town hard by, and won it. But Asdrubal, having passed Iberus, and coming too late to the relief of Hanno, with eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, fell upon the Roman sea forces, that lay not far from Tarracon, whom he found careless as after a victory, roving abroad in the country; and with great slaughter drove them aboard their ships. This done, he ran up into the country, where he withdrew the Ilergetes<sup>1</sup> from the Roman party, though they had given hostages to Scipio. Scipio, in the mean season, was gone to visit and aid his fleet, where having set things in order, he returned back, and made towards Asdrubal, who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over the Iberus. So the Ilergetes were compelled by force, having lost Athanagia, their chief city, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase

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R O M E  
DXXXV.




Livy, B. 21.  
c. 60.  
Polyb. B. 3.  
c. 76.

Livy, B. 21.  
c. 61.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius says nothing of the rebellion of the Ilergetes, Ausetani, or Lacetani. The historian follows Livy.


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R O M E  
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the number of their hostages. The Ausetani likewise, confederates of the Carthaginians, were besieged in their chief town, which they defended thirty days; hoping, in vain, that the sharp winter, and great abundance of snow that fell, would have made the Romans dislodge. But they were fain at length to yield, and for this their obstinacy they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the Lacetani came to help their distressed neighbours, and were beaten home by Scipio, leaving twelve thousand of their company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder how these Lacetani, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of Scipio, should, without any cause remembered, become Carthaginian on the sudden, in the next news we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the sea-coast northward of Iberus, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ*, subject unto Rome, should, in continuance of the story, after a few lines, hold war against Scipio, without any resistance of the Carthaginians. Neither can I believe, that Asdrubal, as it were by a charm, stirred up the Ilergetes, making them lay aside all care of their hostages, and take arms in his quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to stand against Scipio, but ran away, and saved himself beyond the Iberus. Philinus perhaps, or some Carthaginian writer, would have told it thus: that Scipio adventuring too far into the country, was beaten by Asdrubal back to his ships, whence he durst not stir until winter


came on: at what time the Carthaginian returned to the heart of his province, leaving some few garrisons to defend those places, that after Scipio won, by returning upon them, unlooked for, through a deep snow. As for the Lacetani, Ilergetes, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they sought their own benefit; helping themselves one while by the Romans against the Carthaginians, and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new masters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promises of those that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own country laws, and not under governors sent from Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all ages following may testify; even from henceforth unto the days of Augustus Cæsar, till when they were never thoroughly conquered.

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“The year following this, Cn. Scipio had a victory against the Carthaginians in fight at sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships that ran not too far on ground he took; and thereby grew master of the whole coast, landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended: after this victory above a hundred and twenty nations, or petty estates in Spain, are said to have submitted themselves unto the Romans, or given hostages: whereby

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R O M E  
DXXXVI.



Polyb. B. 3.  
c. 95.

Livy, B. 22.  
c. 20.



Year of  
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Asdrubal was compelled to fly into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himself in Lusitania. Yet it follows, that the Ilergetes did again rebel, that Asdrubal hereupon came over Iberus; and that Scipio (though having easily vanquished the Ilergetes) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him hostages. These took from the Carthaginian three towns, and vanquished him in two battles, wherein they slew fifteen thousand of his men, and took four thousand prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio with a supply [of 8000 men and a fleet of thirty galleys;] and henceforward the two brethren jointly administered the business in Spain.

“ The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian war, the two Scipios did *haud cunctanter*, ‘ without both fear or doubt,’ pass over Iberus, and besieged Saguntum<sup>2</sup>. Little cause of doubt had they, if Cneius had already subdued many nations beyond it, and among many others the same Celtiberians, who with their proper forces were able to vanquish Asdrubal. Bostar, the governor of Saguntum, a simple

<sup>2</sup> Neither Livy nor Polybius say that Saguntum was besieged. The Romans seem to have designed it, but winter coming on, hindered them. “ Saguntum pergunt ire :—defectionem omnes [Hispani] spectare, armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems—intervenisset.” *Liv. B. 22. c. 22.* “ Saguntinorum urbi appropinquarunt, 5 milia ab oppido—castra faciunt.—Quia autem instabat hiems, utrique [Rom. et Hispani] in hyberna, suos exercitus dimiserunt.” *Polyb. L. 3. c. 97, 99.* Casaub. trad.



man, suffered himself [as has been before related, p. 313.] to be persuaded by one Abelox, a Spaniard, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good-will of the country, was by freely restoring unto them their hostages, as resting without any pledge assured of their faith: but the crafty Spaniard, being trusted with this message, and restitution of the hostages, carried them all to the Roman generals; persuading them as he had done Bostar, to make the liberality their own. Hereby the Romans purchased much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find, that all the Spanish hostages were left in New Carthage. I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can believe so few. But since we find no better certainties, we must content ourselves with these.

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“The year following was like unto this: Asdrubal must be beaten again. The two Scipios divide their forces: Cneius makes war by land, Publius by sea. Asdrubal, with much labour and entreaty, had gotten four thousand foot and five hundred horse out of Afric. He repairs his fleet, and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief seamen and masters of his ships revolt unto the Romans, because they had been chidden the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed the navy. The revolt of these shipmasters animates to rebellion the Carpesians or Carpetani, an inland people, about Toledo, in the very

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centre of Spain. These do much mischief, so that Asdrubal is fain to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they making head, so valiantly assail him, that they drive him, for very fear, to encamp himself strongly on a high piece of ground, whence he dares not come forth to give them battle. So they take a town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions, and shortly make themselves masters of the country round about. This good success breeds negligence, for which they dearly pay. Asdrubal comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from Carthage, that Asdrubal should lead his army forth into Italy; which we may wonder why the Carthaginians would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard case he was, and had so weakly supplied him, as is showed before. But thus we find it reported, and that upon the very rumour of his journey, almost all Spain was ready to fall to the Romans. Asdrubal therefore sends word presently to Carthage, that this must not be so; or if they will needs have it so, that then they must send him a successor, and well attended with a strong army, which to employ they should find work more than enough, such notable men were the Roman generals. But the senate of Carthage

is not much moved with this excuse. Asdrubal must needs be gone : Himilco with such forces as are thought expedient for that service, both by land and sea, is sent to take the charge of Spain. Wherefore Asdrubal hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself with store of money, that he might have wherewithal to win the friendship of the Gauls, through whose countries he must pass, as Hannibal had done before him. The Carthaginians were greatly to blame for not remembering to ease him of his care. But since it can be no better, he lays great impositions upon all the Spaniards his subjects ; and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward Iberus. The Scipios, hearing these news, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege Ibera (so called of the river's name running by it) the richest town in all those quarters, that was confederate with Asdrubal, who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The Romans meet him, and fight a battle with him, which they win the more easily, for that the Spaniards, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into Italy. Great numbers are slain, and few should have escaped, but that the Spaniards ran away ere the battles were fully joined. Their camp the Romans take and spoil, whereby (questionless) they are marvellously enriched ; all the money that could be raked together in Spain being carried along in this Italian expedition. This day's

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Livy, B. 23.  
c. 48.

See p. 376.

p. 377.

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event joins all Spain to the Romans, if any part of the country stood in doubt before; and puts Asdrubal so far from all thought of travelling into Italy, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himself safe in Spain. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to Rome, and letters to the senate from P. and Cn. Scipio, whereof the contents are, that they have neither money, apparel, nor bread, wherewith to sustain their army and fleet; that all is wanting; so as unless they may be supplied from Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the province. These letters come to Rome in an evil season, the state being scarcely able, after the loss at Cannæ, to help itself at home. Yet relief is sent. At the coming of this supply, the two Scipios pursue Asdrubal, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think, that remember the last news of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his own safety? They find him, and Mago and Hamilcar, the son of Bomilcar, with an army of threescore thousand men, besieging Illiturgi<sup>3</sup>, (which the learned Ortelius and others probably conjecture to have stood where Carinena is now in the kingdom of Arragon; for there was Illiturgi<sup>3</sup>, afterwards called Forum

<sup>3</sup> Father Rouillé (B. 29. p. 208. Note 6.) and Cellarius (vol. i. p. 69.) seem rightly to have placed Illiturgi on the river Bætis, near Castulo. But that the Carthaginians should, after being beaten from thence, go and lay siege to Incibili, which stood where Sir W. Raleigh places it, is not easy to be credited.



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Julii, quite another way) a town of the Ilergetes, their nearest neighbours, for having revolted to the Romans. The town is greatly distressed; but most of all for want of victuals. The Romans therefore break through between the enemy's camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them; and having victualled the place, encourage the townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threescore thousand, and killing more of the enemies than themselves were in number, drove all the three Carthaginian commanders, every one out of his quarter, and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty and eight ensigns.

“The Carthaginian army, being thus beaten from Illiturgi, fall upon Incibili, that stood a little southward from the mouth of Iberus. The Spaniards are blamed as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus reinforcing the broken Carthaginians. But it may be wondered whence the Carthaginians had money to pay them; since Asdrubal was lately driven to poll the country, wanting money of his own, and being beaten in his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his camp was taken after the battle by Ibera. Howsoever it happens, the Carthaginians (according to their custom) are beaten again at Incibili, where there were of them above 13,000 slain,

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and above 3000 taken, besides two and forty ensigns, and nine elephants. After this (in a manner) all the people of Spain fell from them unto the Romans. Thus could Fabius, Valerius Antias, or some other historian, to whom Livy gave credit, conquer all Spain twice in one year<sup>4</sup>, by winning famous victories, whereof these good captains P. and Cn. Scipio perhaps were not aware.

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Livy, B. 24.  
c 41.

“ The Romans, notwithstanding this large access of dominion, winter on their own side of Iberus. In the beginning of the next year, great armies of the Spaniards rise against Asdrubal, and are overthrown by him. P. Scipio, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the river. At *Castrum Altum*<sup>5</sup>, a place in the midway between New Carthage and Saguntum, Publius Scipio encampeth; and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the country round about is too full of enemies: the Carthaginian horse have charged the Romans in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful to retire unto some place more assured. So Publius with-

<sup>4</sup> Not twice in the same year according to Livy.

<sup>5</sup> Rouillé (Note 54. p. 238. B. 29.) says it is the same with Valeria, which he and Cellarius, v. i. p. 103. place at the head of the Sucro.

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draws himself unto Mons Victoriæ<sup>6</sup>, that rising somewhat eastward from Incibili, overlooketh the southern outlet of Iberus. Thither the Carthaginians pursue him. His brother Cneius repairs unto him; and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, with a full army, arrives to help his companions. As they lie thus near encamped together, P. Scipio, with some light armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies, who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to a high piece of ground; where they besiege him until his brother Cneius fetched him off. After this, (but I know not why) Castulo<sup>7</sup>, a great city of Spain, whence Hannibal had taken him a wife, joineth with the Romans, though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the river Bætis. Nevertheless the Carthaginians pass over Iberus to besiege Illiturgi again, wherein lodgeth a Roman garrison; hoping to take it by famine. We may justly wonder what should move them to neglect the rebellion of Castulo, yea and the Roman army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go; and thither follows them Cneius Scipio with one legion; who enters the

<sup>6</sup> According to Rouillé, loc. cit. note 56. this hill was part of Mount Orospeđa, between the Sucro and the Anas. But then Publius, instead of retiring, was advancing further into the country.

<sup>7</sup> Castulo is upon the Bætis, not far from Orospeđa.



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town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and, in two battles, kills above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with six and thirty ensigns. This victory, doubtless, is remarkable, considering that the greatest Roman legion at this time consisted of no more than 500 men. The vanquished Carthaginians besiege Bigerra <sup>8</sup>, but that siege is also raised by Cn. Scipio. Thence the Carthaginians remove to Munda <sup>9</sup>, where the Romans are soon at their heels. There is a great battle fought; that lasteth four hours, wherein the Romans got a notable victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not Cn. Scipio been wounded. Thirty-nine elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty ensigns. The Carthaginians fly to Auringes <sup>10</sup>, and the Romans pursue them. Cn. Scipio, in a litter, is carried into the field, and vanquishes the Carthaginians again, but kills not half so many of them as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrows, the Spaniards, a people framed even by nature to set

<sup>8</sup> Bigerra, according to Rouillé (who follows Ptolemy) and Cellarius, v. i. p. 108. stood in the country of the Bastetani, a people in the east part of Bætica.

<sup>9</sup> Munda, Cellarius, p. 73. places near the sea, not far from the Straits of Gibraltar.

<sup>10</sup> According to Cellarius, Aurinx, or Oringi, is not far from Illiturgi on the Bætis, but nearer the sea. Cellar. v. i. p. 75.



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war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops of Asdrubal, who having also hired some of the Gauls, adventures once more to try his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten again, and loseth eight thousand of his men, besides prisoners, elephants, ensigns, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are even ashamed to leave Saguntum enthralled unto the Carthaginians, since, in behalf of that city, they had at first entered into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that, long before this, they had won all the country once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged Saguntum; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: so as that they need not to blush for having so long forbore to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the present they win Saguntum, and restore the possession thereof unto such of the poor dispersed citizens as they can find out. They also waste and destroy the country of the Turdetani, that had ministred unto Hannibal matter of quarrel against the Saguntines. This last action (questionless) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the Carthaginians would have disturbed them if they had been able.

“But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Romans have gotten in Spain, other print or token of all their

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brave exploits we can perceive none, than this recovery of Saguntum, excepting the stopping of Asdrubal's journey, which was indeed of the greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at Emporiæ, an haven town, built and peopled by a colony of the Phocæans, kin to the Massilians, friends to the Romans. They have easily won to their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering nations of the Spaniards, that are carried one while by persuasion, other whiles by force, and sometimes by their own unsettled passions; and now finally they have won a town, whereof the Carthaginians held entire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily believe, that when they took Saguntum, (if they took it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since in this action we find no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by Hannibal) they had gotten the better of their enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we think, that all those battles lately remembered, after every one of which Asdrubal sat down before some place that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custom of armies vanquished, to carry the war from town to town, and beleaguer cities of their enemies; but to fortify themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely if the Romans had been absolute

masters of the field, when they won Saguntum, they would not have consumed a whole year following in practising only with the Celtiberians, the next adjoining people. Yet made they this little less than two years business. Of these Celtiberians we hear before, that they have yielded up themselves unto the Romans; for security of their faith given hostages to Scipio; and, at his appointment, made war against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought, and not without express condition of a great sum, hired to serve in the Roman camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive, unless perhaps in those days it were the Roman custom, or rather the custom of some bad author, whom Livy follows, to call every messenger or straggler, that entered their camp, an hostage of that people from whom he came.

“ The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, send an army of thirty thousand men to help the Romans, out of which three hundred<sup>11</sup>, the fittest, are chosen and carried into Italy, there to deal with their countrymen that followed Hannibal in his wars. But if any of these three hundred<sup>12</sup> return back

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Liv. B. 24.  
c. 49.

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Livy, B. 25.  
c. 32. et seq.

<sup>11</sup> Livy does not say these 300 were Celtiberians, *nobilissimos Hispanos* 300, l. 24. c. 49.

<sup>12</sup> These 300 were sent into Italy the year before the siege of Capua, and three years after the battle of Cannæ. It may therefore be questioned, whether Hannibal's soldiers were so rich as Sir Walter represents.



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into Spain, it is to be feared that he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of Hannibal's men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow Asdrubal, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into Italy. Hereof we find more than probability, when these mercenary Celtiberians meet the Carthaginian army in the field. The two Scipios, presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek out the enemies, who lie not far off, with three armies. Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, is nearest at hand, even among the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis<sup>13</sup>. With him Cn. Scipio doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being destroyed, Mago and the son of Gisco, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five days march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the country, save themselves from being overtaken. Publius therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better soldiers, that is, two parts of the old Roman army; leaving the third part, and all the Celtiberians, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make

<sup>13</sup> It is not agreed where Anitorgis stood. Rouillé places it near the Anas, (n. 24. p. 286. B. 31.) Cellarius, v. i. p. 77. seems to think it the same with Cunistorgis, which Strabo calls a town of the Celticæ, but which Appian places in Lusitania. The Anitorgis here mentioned by Livy, must have been near the Iberus; for according to him, Publius Scipio's camp, which Fonteius and Marcius possessed after the general's death, was near that river.




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comes somewhat the sooner to his life's end. Mago, and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They join their forces together, meet with Publius Scipio, and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his trenches, wherein he thinks himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by Masinissa, prince of the Massylii, Numidians bordering upon Mauritania, in the region now called Tremizen; to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterwards confederate with the Romans. In this dangerous case, Publius Scipio gets intelligence that Indibilis, a Spanish prince, is coming with 7,500 of the Suessetani<sup>14</sup> to join with his enemies. Fearing therefore to be strait shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with Indibilis upon the way; leaving T. Fonteius, his lieutenant, with a small company to defend the camp. He meets with Indibilis, but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the Numidian horse appear, (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the Romans on all sides: neither are the Carthaginians far behind; but come so fast upon him in rear, that Publius Scipio, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need

<sup>14</sup> The Suessetani were a people on the north side of the Iberus.

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most requireth, is struck through with a lance, and slain; very few of his army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath Cneius Scipio within nine and twenty days after. At his meeting with Asdrubal, the Celtiberian mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had war in their own country. If Anitorgis, where Asdrubal then lay, were, as Ortelius following Beuterus takes it, a Celtiberian town, this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe that they were won by Asdrubal, and easily persuaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. Cneius Scipio therefore being unable to stay them, and no less unable without their help, either to resist the enemy, or to join with his brother, maketh a very violent retreat; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. Asdrubal presseth hard upon him; and Mago, with Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, having made an end of Publius, hasten to despatch his brother after him. Scipio steals from them all by night; but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested in an open place, of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his legions against such enemies. Yet a little hill he finds of easy ascent on every side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies it with pack-saddles, for default of a better palisado.

These weak defences the Carthaginians soon tear in sunder<sup>15</sup>, and breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive, that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape unto T. Fonteius, whom Publius had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out and shroud themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder, did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. T. Fonteius is in Publius Scipio's camp, on the north side of Iberus, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life, since his general, with two parts of the Roman army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes L. Marcius, a young Roman gentleman of a notable spirit; who having gathered together the scattered soldiers, and drawn some companies out of their garrisons, makes a pretty army. The soldiers being to choose a general by most voices, prefer this L. Marcius before Fonteius the lieutenant, as well they may. For Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, coming upon them, this L. Marcius so encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats the Car-

<sup>15</sup> Livy says it cost them a great deal of trouble, and they were a long while about it. B. 25. c. 36.



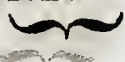
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thaginians into their trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retreat, reserving the fury of his soldiers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished, and now again little better than taken. But when they see that the Roman dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former security, and utterly despising him, set neither corps de garde nor centinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were near. Marcius therefore animates his soldiers with lively words, and tells them that there is no adventure more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being undertaken. They are soon persuaded to follow him in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon the camp of Asdrubal; where finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleep, or very drowsy, he enters without resistance, fires their cabins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted, the Carthaginians run headlong one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their camp Marcius hath prepossessed; so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the rampart; which as many do as can think upon it, and run away towards the camp of Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, that lay six miles off. But Marcius hath waylaid them. In a valley between their two camps he hath bestowed a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of horse; so that into this



ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his coming, Marcius hastens to be there as soon as they. By which diligent speed he comes early in the morning upon this further camp, which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger, which the enemies conceived, when they beheld the Roman shields foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives headlong into flight all that can save themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty-seven thousand of the enemies perish in this night's work, besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty taken prisoners. Hereunto Valerius Antias adds, that the camp of Mago was also taken, and 7,000 slain, and that in another battle with Asdrubal, there were slain 10,000 more, besides 4,330 taken prisoners. Such is the power of some historians. Livy therefore hath elsewhere well observed, that there is none so intemperate as Valerius Antias in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battles. That whilst Marcius was making an oration to his soldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, Livy reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit; and temperately concludeth, that this captain Marcius got a great name; which he might well do, if with so small forces, and in such distress, he could clearly get off from the enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

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Liv. B. 26.  
c. 11.

“ Of these occurrents L. Marcius sent word to Rome, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise as the senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their vicegerent in Spain, which the better to intimate unto them, he styled himself proprætor. The fathers were no less moved with the tidings than the case required, and therefore took such careful order for supplying their forces in Spain, that although Hannibal came to the gates of Rome, ere the companies levied to serve that province could be sent away, yet could they not stay a tide for defence of the city itself, but shipped them in all haste for Spain. As for the title of proprætor, which Marcius had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it; foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the soldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command armies and provinces.

c. 17. Therefore C. Claudius Nero was despatched away, with all convenient haste, into Spain, carrying with him about 6,000 of the Roman foot, and as many of the Latines, with 300 Roman horse, and of the Latines eight hundred.


“ It happened well that about these times the affairs of Rome began to prosper in Italy, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply, otherwise the victories of Marcius would ill have served, either to keep footing in Spain, or to stop the Carthaginian armies

from marching towards the Alps. For when Claudius, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the army, which was under Marcius and Fonteius, he found surer tokens of the overthrows received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof Marcius had made his vaunts to the senate. The Roman party was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends, whom how to reclaim it would not easily be devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly towards Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, whom he found among the Ausetani<sup>16</sup>, near enough at hand, encamped in a place called *Lapides atri*, out of which there was no issue, but only through a strait, whereon the Roman seized at his first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to encamp in such a place, I do not find; and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said that Asdrubal, seeing himself thus locked up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all Spain, and quit the province to the Ro-

<sup>16</sup> The Ausetani were indeed near enough at hand. Pliny mentions a people of that name near *Emporiæ*. Livy, as quoted by Cellarius, v. i. p. 116. places them near the Iberus. But the *Lapides atri* (the black rocks) according to the same Cellarius, p. 99. were between *Illiturgi* and *Mentisa*, or *Mentissa* on the *Bætis*. Livy also says the *Lapides atri* were between *Illiturgi* and *Mentissa*, but then he places these towns in the country of the Ausetani, which agrees to the situation Sir Walter Raleigh gives to *Illiturgi*. *Asdrubal ad Lapides atros castra habebat in Ausetanis, is locus est inter oppida Illiturgim et Mentissam.* Liv. L. 26. c. 17. Rouillé (N. 33, 34, p. 320, B. 32.) agrees with Cellarius.



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mans, upon condition that he and his army might be thence dismissed ; that he spent many days in entertaining parley with Claudius about this business ; that night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages out of the danger, and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his horse and elephants, leaving his camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this Asdrubal, two other Carthaginian generals in Spain, we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of Claudius, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a country, with one of these three chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night, the horse and elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore, in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose both the danger wherein the Carthaginians were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. Howsoever it was, neither this nor aught else that the Romans could do, served to purchase any new friends in Spain, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old soldiers, which had chosen Marcius their proprætor, took it not well, that the senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a proprætor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a proconsul, and, perhaps, young Scipio




by name, as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the barbarians, and the beloved memory of Cneius and Publius likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these or upon other reasons, C. Claudius was recalled out of the province, and Publius the son of P. Scipio sent proconsul into Spain.

“ This is that Scipio, who afterwards transferred the war into Afric, where he happily ended it to the great honour and benefit of his country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned, especially he excelled in temperance, continency, bounty, and other virtues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made shall appear in the tenor of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great Alexander’s vanity; how he used to walk alone in the capitol, as one that had some secret conference with Jupiter; how a dragon (which must have been one of the gods, and in likelihood Jupiter himself) was thought to have conversed with his mother, entering her chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of Rome; that this noble city might seem not only to have surpassed other nations in virtue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single

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man. To this end nothing is left out that might serve to adorn this Roman champion. For it is confidently written as matter of unquestionable truth, that when a proconsul was to be chosen for Spain, there durst not any captain of the principal citizens offer himself as petitioner for that honourable but dangerous charge; that the people of Rome were much astonished thereat; that when the day of election came, all the princes of the city stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this Publius Cornelius Scipio, being then about four and twenty years of age<sup>17</sup>, getting up upon a high place, where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of L. Marcius no better than dreams; and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the Roman captains, who durst not follow Claudius Nero, that not long before was gone into Spain pro-prætor, or very bad intelligence they had out of the province, which Asdrubal the Carthaginian, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which

<sup>17</sup> Polyb. B. 10. c. 3. says upon the authority of C. Lælius, from whom he heard it, that Scipio was seventeen years of age at the battle of the Ticin, and (c. 6.) twenty seven when he went into Spain. But if he was seventeen at the battle of the Ticin, and went to Spain this year (as Livy and Pighius say) he was now only twenty-four.

I find in the too partial Roman historians, I do not willingly insist.

“P. Scipio was sent proconsul into Spain, and with him was joined M. Junius Silanus as proprætor and his coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot and one thousand horse in thirty quinquere me galleys. With these they landed at Emporiæ, and marched from thence to Tarracon along the sea-coast. At the fame of Scipio’s arrival, it is said, that embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the province, which he entertained with such a majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him, and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be; for very little cause there was to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as some think, all the next year) he did nothing, but spent the time, perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the Spaniards. His first enterprise was against New Carthage, upon which he came unexpected, with twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand and five hundred horse; his sea-forces coasting him and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the town by land and sea, and won it by assault the first day. The Carthaginians lost it by

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Polyb. B. 10.  
c. 6, et seq.  
et Livy, B.  
26. c. 19.

c. 20.


Livy, B. 27.  
c. 7.

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Polyb. loc.  
cit. et  
Livy, B. 26.  
c. 42. et  
seq.



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their too much confidence upon the strength of it, which caused them to man it more slenderly than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some fishermen of Tarracon had not discovered unto Scipio a secret passage unto the walls, whereof the townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought, at least, that their enemies could have no notice. This city of New Carthage resembled the old and great Carthage in situation, standing upon a demi-island, between a haven and a great lake. All the western side of the walls, and somewhat of the north, was fenced with this lake, which the fishermen of Tarracon had sounded, and finding some part thereof a shelf, whereon at low water men might pass knee-deep, or, at most, wading up to the middle, Scipio thrust therein some companies of men, who recovered the top of the walls without resistance, the place being left without guard, as able to defend itself by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the Carthaginians within the city, easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the Roman army. What booty was found within the town<sup>18</sup>, Livy himself cannot certainly affirm, but is fain to say, that some Roman historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small pro-

<sup>18</sup> Polyb. B. 10. c. 19. says, Scipio found in the town six hundred talents of the public money; and that he had brought with him four hundred talents from Rome, for the expense of the war.

portion of riches, which was afterwards carried by Scipio into the Roman treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, that all the wealth of Afric and Spain was heaped up in that one town. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish hostages<sup>19</sup>, or at least of the adjoining provinces, whom Scipio entreated with singular courtesy, restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit.”

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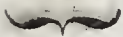


A procedure so generous encouraged a woman of a majestic mien, to come and throw herself at his feet. (She was the wife of Mandonius, brother to Indibilis, king of the Ilergetes.) With tears in her eyes she besought him, that he would order his Romans to be more civil to their captives than the Carthaginians had been. Her modesty hindered her from expressing herself more clearly; and Scipio misunderstood her meaning. Imagining that she and her companions had been hardly treated with respect to the necessities of life, he gave her an assurance, that, for the future, they should want nothing. “That,” returned the noble matron, “has no part in my concern. Cares of another kind disturb my thoughts, when I consider the age of these about me.” Scipio casting his eyes upon her nieces (the daughters of Indibilis) and other beautiful captives of like

Polyb. B.  
10. c. 18.  
Liv. B. 26.  
c. 49.

<sup>19</sup> Scipio promised to send home the hostages, provided their friends would enter into an alliance with Rome. Polyb. Lib. 10. c. 18.

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quality, who were with her, and seemed to regard her as a mother, understood the nature of her petition. Moved with compassion for young princesses, whose honour had been exposed to so much danger, tears dropped from his eyes; and reaching out his hand to raise the suppliant, he replied, "For my own sake, and for the sake of the Roman people, I would suffer nothing, that is any where esteemed sacred, to be violated amongst us. But that virtue and dignity, which you have preserved under all your misfortunes, oblige me to be more particularly attentive to your protection." He then appointed men of known probity to have the charge of the fair captives and their conductress, and commanded, that they should be respected as his sisters and daughters.

A second adventure made it believed, that it was not mere policy, but virtue, which moved Scipio to such generous actions. His officers, knowing that he loved women, brought to him a young virgin of surprising beauty. Wherever she appeared she charmed the eyes of all; and Scipio was struck at the sight of her. Nevertheless he gave this answer to the officers: "Were I in a private station, you could not make me a more agreeable present; nor, in the post I now fill, a present less acceptable." Then, having asked the lady concerning her birth, country, and circumstances; and finding that she was contracted to a prince of the Celtiberians named Allucius, he sent for her father, and for the prince. When they came into his



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presence, he thus addressed himself to the lover of the captive. "Allucius, we are both young, and may therefore speak freely to one another of our sentiments. My soldiers have brought me hither a virgin, who, I hear, is your mistress, and that you passionately love her. Her beauty makes me easily believe it; and would the business with which I am entrusted by our republic allow me to think of such pleasures, I should be glad to be indulged in them, while they did not exceed the bounds of justice and honour. Your love I can favour, and am pleased with an opportunity to do it. Your mistress has been with us, as if she had been with her own parents, or yours, that I might make you a present worthy of me and of you. The only return I ask is this: be a friend to the Roman people. If you believe me to be an honest man, such as my father and uncle were esteemed in these countries, know, that Rome has many citizens like us; and that there is not at this day, in the world, a nation, whom you and your countrymen would think a more terrible enemy, or a more desirable friend." At these words he put the fair captive into the hands of the Celtiberian prince; and, as her parents had brought a rich present of money for the proconsul, he gave that likewise to Allucius, as an addition to his wife's portion. This action did the Roman republic great service in Spain. Allucius published in Celtiberia, "That there was come among them a young hero, terrible and bene-

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Sir W. Ral.  
B. 5. c. 3.  
sect. 11.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 17. et  
seq.


ficent as the immortals, all conquering by his benignity as by his sword.”

The grateful prince soon after brought to Scipio a reinforcement of one thousand four hundred horse; “and two petty kings of the Ilergetes and Lacetani, nearest neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the north side of the Iberus, forsook the Carthaginian party, and joined with the Romans. The speech of Indibilis, king of the Ilergetes, is much commended for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly fugitives use, of the pleasure which he did unto the Romans, in revolting from their enemies, but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by the injuries of the Carthaginians, and invited by the honourable dealing of Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship was indeed no unsure token that it should be long lasting. But if the Ilergetes had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the Carthaginian party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to Cn. Scipio, then could nothing have been devised more vain than this oration of Indibilis, their king, excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the father and the uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder Scipios had gotten some few places among these their neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the Romans never mas-


ters of the country, till this worthy commander, by recovering their hostages from the Carthaginians, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself the assured love and assistance of these princes. The Carthaginian generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry, yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter, saying, that a young man, having stolen a town by surprise, was too far transported and overjoyed; but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his father and uncle, which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

“ Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture, I should be bold to say, that the Carthaginians were at this time busy in setting forth towards Italy, and that Scipio, to divert them, undertook new Carthage, as his father and uncle, upon the like occasion, sat down before Ibera. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the lake had been undiscovered, and the town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular action was the more fortunate in coming to such good issue upon the first day, yet in the generality of the business between Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that Asdrubal should be stayed from going into Italy, than that half of Spain should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do that should hinder his journey, Mago, and Asdrubal the

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son of Gisco, were thought sufficient to hold Scipio work, in that lingering war of taking and retaking towns, whilst the main of the Carthaginian forces, under Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, went to a greater enterprise, even to fight in trial of the empire.

“ But the Roman historians tell this after another fashion, and say, that Asdrubal was beaten into Italy, whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but hear the name of Scipio. Scipio, say they, coming upon Asdrubal, his vant-currers charged so lustily the Carthaginian horse, that they drave them into their trenches, and made it apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the Roman army was, and how dejected the enemy. Asdrubal therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied a hill, compassed on three sides with the river, very steep of ascent, and not easy of access on the foreside, by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the Romans. On the top of it there was a plain, whereon he strongly encamped himself, and in the midway, between the top and the root of the hill, was also another plain, into which he descended, more upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within the trenches, than for that he durst adventure his army to the hazard of a battle, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the Romans. They climbed up the hill to him, they recovered even

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footing with him, drove him out of this lower plain up into his camp on the hill top, whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach, yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found, but much more strongly breaking their way, where the Carthaginians had got up before them, they drave both men and elephants headlong, I know not whither, for it is said, that there was no way to fly. Out of such a battle, wherein he had lost eight thousand men, Asdrubal is said to have escaped, and gathering together his dispersed troops, to have marched towards the Pyrenees, having sent away his elephants ere the fight began<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless Mago, and Asdrubal the son of Gisco, are reported after this to have consulted with him about this war, and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the Spaniards, as far as might be, from the name of Scipio. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into Italy, whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affairs have too long detained us.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 20.

<sup>20</sup> Polybius, B. 10. c. 35, 36, relates this battle somewhat different from Livy, whom Sir W. Raleigh follows.

## CHAP. XXXII.

THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

*Asdrubal vanquished in the battle of the Metaurus. Hannibal is forced to confine himself within Bruttium.*

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sulship.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 33.

c. 34.

THE approach of Asdrubal, (as was before observed), made it incumbent on the Romans to be very careful in their choice of consuls to succeed Marcellus and Quinctius. The conscript fathers cast their eyes on C. Claudius Nero, who had formerly served in Spain; a man of approved courage and ability: but where to find him a proper colleague was the difficulty; for Nero being somewhat hasty, and extremely enterprising, it seemed necessary to join with him, in the command, some person whose phlegm may temper his vivacity. It happened about this time, that the reputation of one M. Livius Macatus was attacked in the senate. His kinsman, M. Livius Salinator, spoke in his defence. Salinator had discharged the office of consul with great prudence twelve years before; yet was afterwards unjustly censured by the people for a pretended unequal distribution of the spoils of Illyricum. Piqued at the affront, he retired from all public business to his country farm; and though Marcellus and Lævinus obliged him to return to the city, he lived there like a man in disgrace, his beard long, his hair neglected, and his dress slovenly, till the censors



forced him to shave himself, and take his place in the senate; and even then he continued to show his resentment of the affront he had received, giving his opinion only by an aye or a no, or by moving from one side of the house to the other. The cause of his friend now engaged him to speak; this drew upon him the attention of the fathers. They called to mind his merit, and his past services, were surprised at themselves for having so long neglected a man of his worth and abilities, and judged him a proper person to be joined with Nero in the consulship. But, when the *comitia* met, Livius himself opposed his own election: "If I am worthy," said he, "to be chosen consul a second time, why was I condemned? Or if my condemnation was just, why should I be placed again at the helm?" However, he was at length prevailed upon to accept of the dignity offered him. It fell to his lot to march against Asdrubal, and to Nero's to oppose Hannibal in Bruttium: but the rest of the winter was spent in the celebration of games, processions, and other religious ceremonies, to render the gods propitious.

When the spring came, the consuls began to make new levies with extraordinary vigour. Five out of seven maritime colonies, which had been hitherto exempted, by treaty, from furnishing their contingents of troops, were deprived of that immunity, which was confirmed only to Ostia and Antium. The Volones were enrolled in the legions, and Scipio sent from

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Livy, B. 27.  
c. 38.

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Livy, B. 27.  
c. 39.

Spain to Livius two thousand legionaries, eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, and eighteen hundred horse, partly Numidian, and partly Spanish.

Asdrubal had come from Spain to Italy in a much shorter time than Hannibal. He had found means to gain the good will of the Gauls.

A great number of the Arverni had listed themselves in his service; and even the mountaineers of the Alps, being by this time sensible that there was no design upon their cottages and possessions, and that their hills were only a road by which one powerful state marched its armies to attack another, at a great distance from them, had been so far from opposing his march, that many of them had joined his army. The Carthaginian, after passing the Alps, laid siege to Placentia. While he was before the town, the consuls in great haste set out for

c. 40.

their respective provinces. Nero found, as Livy would have us believe, that the prætor Hostilius (who met him at Venusia, and there resigned the command of the troops to him) had, with some light armed cohorts, attacked all Hannibal's army on a march, killed four thousand of

c. 41.

his men, and taken nine standards. The same author adds, that Nero obtained a victory over Hannibal, by means of an ambush he placed behind the Carthaginian army, slew eight thousand of them, and four elephants, and took seven hundred prisoners, with the loss only of five hundred men; and in a second engagement cut in pieces two thousand of the enemy.



Soon after this, four Gallic and two Numidian troopers, who had been despatched with letters to the Carthaginian general from Asdrubal, missing their way, fell into the hands of some Roman soldiers, in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, who carried them before Q. Claudius, the proprætor; and when dread of torture had made these messengers confess their errand, Claudius sent them under a guard, with the letters unopened, to the consul Nero at Canusium. Nero having caused these letters to be interpreted, and finding the import of them to be, "that Asdrubal was repairing to Umbria, and desired his brother to join him there," he sent them straight to the senate, signifying to them by the same express, that he was resolved to march with six thousand foot and one thousand horse of his choicest troops to reinforce his colleague, and give Asdrubal battle, before Hannibal could come to his assistance. This step was contrary to the laws, which forbade generals to make war out of their provinces, or to enter those of their colleagues: but the consul imagined, that the present perilous circumstances would justify his conduct.

The messenger despatched, Nero sent orders to the people of the several provinces through which he was to march, to have provision, horses, carts, and all other accommodations, in readiness. Then having caused a report to be spread, that he was going to force a Carthaginian garrison in a neighbouring city of Lucania, he left the command of the body of

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Livy, B. 27.  
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Livy, B. 27.  
c. 45.

his army with one of his lieutenants, and in the night took the road to Picenum. When he was got to a considerable distance from his camp, he discovered his intention to the detachment he had taken with him, and encouraged them to the enterprise by the prospect of the glory they would acquire by a victory over Asdrubal, in which, notwithstanding the smallness of their number, they would be undoubtedly thought to have had the greatest share.

c. 44. Nero's design, when known at Rome, threw the people into a consternation; some thought, that to leave an army without its general, and deprived of its bravest soldiers, in the neighbourhood of Hannibal, was too bold a step; others approved the enterprise; and the least equitable suspended their judgment till they should see the success.

c. 46. In the meantime the consul drew near his colleague's camp, by whose advice he entered it in the night, to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A council of war was immediately held, in which many were for giving Nero's troops time to refresh themselves after so long a march; but the general himself opposed this motion, being in hopes to defeat Asdrubal, and return to his camp at Canusium, before Hannibal should discover his absence, or be able to take any advantage of it.

Zon. B. 9.

Livy, B. 27.  
c. 47.

Notwithstanding the precautions used by the Romans to conceal from the enemy the arrival of Nero, Asdrubal the next morning perceived that Livius had got a reinforcement; and ima-

gining that Hannibal had been defeated, and that the victorious army was come against him, he declined a battle, though he had already drawn out his men in order to engage; and the next night, under favour of the darkness, he decamped and took the road to Insubria, resolving to wait there for an answer from his brother, with certain intelligence of his situation. The two guides whom the Carthaginian chose to conduct him, proved unfaithful, and on a sudden disappeared; so that the army was bewildered, and knew not what route to take. They marched all night along the banks of the Metaurus, a river in Umbria, Asdrubal designing to pass it as soon as it was light: and while he pursued his tedious march along the winding stream, the Romans had time to come up with him. He was forced to give battle in a disadvantageous situation, and when his men were faint with thirst, hunger, and want of rest. Nay, he had lost a great number of his soldiers in the night, especially of the Gauls, who, not able, or not willing, to endure the fatigue of so painful a march, had laid themselves down to sleep. He ranged his elephants, which, according to Polybius, were ten in number, in the front of his battle, before the centre, which consisted of his Ligurians. His Gauls he posted in the left, on an eminence near the river; and, in the right, his Africans and Spaniards, which were the strength of his army; and the whole was drawn up very deep in file. The main body of the Romans was led

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Polyb. B.  
11. c. 1.  
and Liv. B.  
27. c. 48.

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by L. Porcius, the prætor of Gaul, who with his forces had joined Livius before the arrival of Nero. This last took upon him the command of the right wing, and Livius of the left. Asdrubal, knowing that his Gauls were secured by the advantage of their situation, made his greatest efforts against the left of the enemy. There the battle continued obstinate a long time. At length Nero, unable to mount the eminence to attack the Gauls, and impatient of inaction, chose out the stoutest of his soldiers, and, having led them round the rear of their own army, fell upon the Africans and Spaniards in flank and rear. Victory then declared for the Romans; and Asdrubal (after having performed all the duties of a great general) seeing the entire rout of his troops, and unwilling to survive their defeat, threw himself into the midst of a Roman battalion, and was slain. There were more elephants killed by the Carthaginians than by the enemy: for when the beasts grew unruly, their riders drove a sharp iron into the joint, where the head is set on to the neck. This (says Livy) was found to be the quickest method of despatching those animals, a method invented by Asdrubal. According to the Latin historian, the Carthaginians had 56,000 men killed in the battle, and 5400 taken prisoners; above 4000 Roman captives were found in the enemy's camp; the Romans lost, in the action, 8000 men. But Polybius says, that of the Carthaginians there died only 10,000 men, and of the Romans 2000. Livy reports that the



conquerors were so fatigued with slaughtering their enemies, that the next day, when advice was brought to Livius, that a large body of Ligurians and Cisalpine Gauls (who either had not been in the battle or had escaped from it) were going off in great disorder, without leaders and without ensigns, and that it would be very easy to put them all to the sword; "No matter," said he, "let some remain to carry the news of their own defeat, and of our bravery." Nero set out from the camp of his colleague the night after the battle, and in six days time reached his own camp at Canusium.

The joy of the people at Rome, on the news of this success, was equal to the fears they had been in, on account of Nero's march. It quite changed the face of the city: from this time the citizens ventured to make contracts, to buy and sell, lend money, and pay debts, as securely as in a time of peace. Nero, at his return to his camp, ordered Asdrubal's head, which he had brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy, and some African prisoners to be exposed in chains to their view. Two of these prisoners he set at liberty, and sent them to Hannibal's camp, to give him an account of the victory. The Carthaginian, struck with a blow so fatal to his republic and his family, is said to have cried out, "It is like the fortune of Carthage." He immediately decamped, and retired into Bruttium with all his forces. Thither he transplanted the Meta-

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Orosius, B.  
4. Liv. B.  
27, c. 50,  
51.

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Two hun-  
dred six.

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sulship.

pontines and all those of the Lucanians who still adhered to him; preparing to defend this corner of Italy, since he was obliged to abandon the rest of it.

To add to the good fortune of the republic this year, the proconsul Sulpicius, in conjunction with Attalus king of Pergamus and the other allies, had kept Philip employed in Greece, and thereby secured Italy from an invasion from that quarter. And Lævinus had gained a victory over the Carthaginians at sea, and sent a large supply of corn from Sicily to Rome.

From some motive not known, the Romans were desirous of having a dictator to preside at the approaching elections. Nero named his colleague Livius to that dignity. Q. Cæcilius Metellus, and L. Veturius Philo, who had both distinguished themselves by their valour in the last campaign under Livius, were chosen consuls.

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Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship.

These new generals had orders to carry on the war jointly in Bruttium against Hannibal. And now, strange as it may appear, the Carthaginian made himself feared, even in the low condition to which the defeat and death of his brother had reduced him: he gained some advantages over the consuls, in the plains of Consentia; and they durst not attack him in his camp. Hannibal never appeared greater than in his adversity. Who, (says Polybius) that considers attentively Hannibal's conduct, how many great battles he fought, how many

Polyb. B.  
11. c. 17.

lesser actions he was engaged in, the prodigious number of towns he took <sup>1</sup>, the various turns of fortune he experienced, and the difficult situations in which he often found himself, during the course of a sixteen years' war, which he <sup>2</sup> alone supported against the most powerful state in the world: who that considers these things can help admiring his extraordinary talents as a general? And though, during all that time, he kept the field with his army, and that army was a mixture of Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greeks, differing in their laws, customs, and languages, and having no other bond of union but his command; and though they were often in want of necessaries, [especially, adds Livy, when confined to Bruttium, a country little able to sustain them in its prosperity, much less when exhausted by so long a war, and when its inhabitants were forced to leave tilling their lands to enlist as soldiers] such was the excellence of Hannibal's discipline, that no sedition ever happened amongst his troops, no mutiny against the general.

Polybius adds, that had the Carthaginian invaded the other parts of the world first, and

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dred five.

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sulship.

Livy, B. 28.  
c. 12.

<sup>1</sup> According to Appian, [in Syr. c. 91.] he took no less than four hundred in Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. de Virt. et Vit. Excerpt. ex Lib. 9. tells us that Hannibal was the sole spring and director of the second Punic war. "He carried it on in Italy by himself; in Spain by his brothers, first Asdrubal, then Mago; in Sicily by Hippocrates, and afterwards by Mytto [Mutines]; and in Greece by king Philip."



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Two hun-  
dred five.

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sulship.

reserved Italy for his last attempt, it is not to be doubted, but he would have succeeded in all his undertakings; but having begun where he should have ended, his illustrious actions found their period on the same theatre where they had their commencement.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

*The continuation of the events of the war in Spain, after the departure of Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, from that country.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLV.

\* See p. 16,  
59, and 60.

THE next day after the battle in which Scipio is said \* to have defeated Asdrubal, and driven him over the Pyrenees, he assembled the prisoners, amounting to 10,000 foot and 2000 horse: he ordered the Africans to be sold, but the Spaniards he dismissed, without ransom. This act of generosity had such an effect upon the Spaniards in general, that they with one voice saluted him king. The Roman answered, that "to him the greatest title was that of imperator, which his soldiers gave him; that the name of king, so much respected in other places, was intolerable at Rome: that if to have a royal soul was in their estimation the highest character among men, they might silently think of him as they pleased, but he desired they would forbear the appellation."

There seems to have been no more action this year in Spain. The Carthaginians had two

generals in that country, Mago, the brother of Hannibal, and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, each with an army. Mago resigned his troops to Asdrubal, and went into the Baleares to make new levies there, while the latter posted himself in Lusitania near the straits of Gades. Scipio wintered at Tarraco.

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R O M E  
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The year following, Silenus, the proprætor under Scipio, with a detachment of 10,000 foot and 500 horse, routed the united forces of Mago and Hanno, which latter had been sent from Africa with an army to supply the place of Hannibal's brother Asdrubal. Hanno was taken prisoner in the action, but Mago escaped with his broken troops to Asdrubal (the son of Gisco.) These, with their united strength, marched from Gades into Bætica, in order to protect their allies in that country, but at the approach of Scipio were obliged to return to the place from whence they came. Upon their departure, the proconsul sent his brother Lucius to besiege Oringi, a city of importance at the head of the Bætis, and after the reduction of that town, retired to Tarraco for the winter.

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R O M E  
DXLVI.

Mago, having employed himself for some time in making levies among the Spaniards, brought such recruits to Asdrubal, that the army consisted of 54,000, some say 74,000 men. With these forces the two generals, in conjunction with Masinissa, marched the following spring in quest of the Romans, and encamped in a vast plain near a town called Silpia, on the confines of Bætica. Scipio, upon

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R O M E  
DXLVII.

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship of Scipio

in Africa  
71000

Polyb. L.  
11. c. 20.

the news of the enemy's surprising preparations, thought it necessary for him also to arm the Spaniards; but remembering the misfortune that befel his father and uncle, by relying on them too much, he resolved to be cautious of employing them on critical occasions. Having swelled his army to 45,000 foot and 3000 horse, he moved from Tarraco, marched towards the Carthaginians, and pitched his camp in the same plain with them. The two armies were frequently drawn up before their intrenchments; and as Scipio observed, that Asdrubal always placed his best troops, which were his Africans, in the centre, and his Spaniards in the two wings, he constantly posted his Spaniards in the wings, and his Romans in the centre. But this he did to deceive the enemy. For when the day came, on which he resolved to give battle, he changed this disposition, and placed his legionaries in the two wings, and the Spaniards in the middle. In this order he marched out of his camp very early in the morning, and sent his cavalry and the light armed foot to provoke the enemy, insomuch that Asdrubal was obliged to draw out his men before they had taken their usual refreshment. In the meantime Scipio advanced with his infantry. At his approach, his cavalry and velites, pursuant to orders, ceased to fight, and retired through the intervals of the foot. He then directed his centre to move on slowly, but his wings to advance very fast, the cavalry and light armed men at the same time moving



from the rear, and extending themselves to fall upon the enemy in flank. Thus the bravest of his troops came to an engagement with the weakest of the opposite army, and defeated them before the two centres could join battle. And the great prudence of the Roman general, in this conduct, was visible, when after he had routed the enemy's wings, he came to attack their centre; for the Africans made so stout a resistance, as almost quite disheartened the Romans: insomuch that Scipio (as one author relates) was forced to dismount, and throw himself, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy's battalions, before he could engage his men to make the necessary efforts to complete the victory. But then the Africans gave ground, and the slaughter was terrible. Asdrubal, with the runaways, gained the camp; but the Spaniards deserted him so fast, that he laid aside the thought of fortifying himself there, and retired in the night towards the shore of the ocean. Scipio pursued, and came up with him: and, after a second slaughter, the three chiefs, Asdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa, had no more than six thousand men left about them, and these for the most part disarmed. With all expedition they gained the summit of a steep hill, and there intrenched themselves as well as they could. Asdrubal perceiving that these remains of his army continually lessened, abandoned them in the night. The sea was near, he found ships ready to sail, and embarked for Gades. Scipio being informed of Asdrubal's

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship.

Appian, in  
Iberic.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship:

82 B. C.

Livy, B. 28.  
c. 17.

flight, left Silanus with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to besiege the enemy's camp, and he himself with the rest of his forces marched back to Tarraco. After his departure, Masinissa had private conferences with Silanus, and entered into engagements to favour the Roman cause. Mago escaped to Gades with some ships which Asdrubal had sent him; and the soldiers, abandoned by their generals, either went over to the enemy, or dispersed themselves up and down the country. The Carthaginian power in Spain was now almost totally reduced; but the proconsul did not confine his views to Spain alone. He began to think of paving his way to Africa. Syphax, king of Masæsyliæ, was now in alliance with the Carthaginians; and, as Scipio knew that the Numidian's friendship to them would not be more constant than their good fortune, he sent his friend Lælius to persuade him to break the treaty. Lælius's arguments wrought conviction; but he being only a subaltern in Scipio's army, the king insisted, for his greater security, upon having a personal conference with the proconsul himself; and he protested, that if Scipio would come into Numidia, he should be received there with honour, and dismissed with satisfaction. The Roman considered the hazard of such an enterprise; but being above the fear of danger, when he had the interest of his republic in view, (leaving Marcius at Tarraco, with a part of his troops, and ordering Silanus with the rest to New Carthage) embarked with Lælius



for Africa, and arrived at the capital of king Syphax. Asdrubal happened to arrive there the same day from Spain; and nothing could be more agreeable to the Numidian prince, than to see two generals of the two most powerful nations in the world, at his court, at the same time; and both come to seek his alliance. He first put on the person of a mediator, and would have had Scipio enter into a conference with the Carthaginian, in order to an amicable accommodation. But Scipio excused himself, as not having received any commission from his republic to treat of peace. However, he accepted of an invitation to dine at the king's table with Asdrubal. And then not only Syphax, a stranger to the Roman manners, but even Asdrubal, a Carthaginian, a mortal enemy, was charmed with his conversation. The latter is reported to have said, "That he did not question but Syphax and his kingdom would soon be at the devotion of the Romans, such an art had Scipio of conciliating to him the hearts of men: that the Carthaginians need not inquire how Spain was lost, but how Africa might be preserved: that Scipio's voyages were not voyages of pleasure; that he would not have crossed the sea with only two vessels, nor put himself in the power of a king whose honour he had never tried; but with a view to gain all Africa." Asdrubal judged rightly. Syphax entered into a treaty with Scipio; and lest the Roman, in his return to Spain, should be attacked at sea by Asdrubal's galleys, kept the Carthaginians

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred five.  
246th Consulship.

Livy, B. 28.  
c. 18.

Appian, in  
Iberica.



Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship  
Livy, B. 28.  
c. 19.

Livy, B. 28.  
c. 22.

with him; and amused them till the proconsul was safely arrived at New Carthage. His chief business now was to punish the nations and cities which had signalized themselves against the Romans, and to keep the Spaniards in awe by examples of severity. He marched in person to besiege Illiturgi, and sent Marcius to invest Castulo. The former, which, Livy says, had revolted to the enemy after the death of the two Scipios, was taken by assault, sacked and burnt; and men, women, and children, put to the sword. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. From Castulo, Marcius went and appeared before Astapa, a city obstinately devoted to the Carthaginians. The inhabitants, being desperate, brought all their moveables, and threw them in a heap in the market-place; and then putting their wives and children on the top of the pile, and encompassing it with faggots, they chose out fifty of the most steady of the citizens to guard this dear depositum; and spoke to them in the following manner: "Be assured, we will either repulse the Romans, or all perish in the attempt. If we are overcome, do you, upon the first news of the enemy's approach, save the honour and liberty of our wives and children. First make use of your swords, and then of fire, to preserve these remains of an unfortunate people from captivity and infamy." After this they did not wait to be attacked, but marched out at one of the gates, in good order, to give battle; and all died fighting. And the news

of this slaughter produced another in the heart of the city: the fifty Astāpans discharged their trust, and then threw themselves into the flames.

Whilst Marcius was executing vengeance on these cities, Scipio returned to New Carthage, where he entertained his army with a fight of gladiators, in honour to the manes of his father and uncle, pursuant to a vow he had made. On this occasion two Spanish princes are said to have fought in a duel with each other for a principality. During these diversions, some deserters arrived from Gades, the only city of Spain in the Carthaginian interest; and upon their report of a conspiracy, among the Gadi-tāni, to put the Romans into possession of the place, Scipio despatched Marcius, with some troops by land, and Lælius by sea, with eight ships, to carry on the enterprise. But Lælius, in his passage, having met and defeated eight Carthaginian triremes, learned from the prisoners, that the conspirators at Gades had been discovered, and sent in chains to Carthage to be tried there. Whereupon he gave Marcius notice of it, advising him to lead back his troops; and he himself likewise returned to New Carthage.

And now it appeared, how necessary Scipio's presence was, both to preserve his conquests in Spain, and to maintain discipline in the army. He happened to fall dangerously sick; and fame made his case worse than it was; nay, a report prevailed that he was dead; and this

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship.  
Liv. B. 48.  
c. 20.

88. 3. 11. 1  
88. 3. 11. 1

c. 24.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship.

had such an effect, that not only Indibilis (a petty king before mentioned) and his brother Mandonius, who had not been rewarded suitably to their expectations, immediately revolted from the Romans, and stirred up the Celtiberians against them; but eight thousand Roman legionaries, who were encamped on the banks of the Sucro, to keep that part of Spain in awe, mutinied, cast off their leaders, (who would not enter into their measures) and chose two insolent common soldiers, Atrius and Albius, to conduct them. And the madness of these two fellows rose to such a height, that they usurped the consular dignity, and ordered lictors to walk before them. The pretence for the mutiny was want of pay, which they had not received for six months. They also demanded to be led against the enemy, or if Spain was already reduced, to be permitted to return to Italy.

Liv. B. 28.  
c. 26.  
Polyb. B.  
11. c. 23—  
25.

The proconsul recovered his health; but was much embarrassed how to manage the mutineers, so as not to push them to extremities, and yet to make such examples as should keep his troops in their duty. He at length decoyed them to New Carthage, by promising to pay them their arrears there, and by giving such orders as deceived them into a belief, that the troops with him were immediately to go, under the command of Silanus, upon an expedition against Indibilis and Mandonius; which would leave the proconsul absolutely at the mercy of the malcontents. Full of these hopes, they entered the city. Scipio had before sent seven



tribunes to them, to supply the place of those whom they had driven away. And these, who had by an artful conduct gained the confidence of the rebels, were ordered each of them to invite five of the most guilty to his house, make them drink plentifully; then bind them, and give the general notice of the success. Thirty-five of the mutineers were thus secured, without the knowledge of the rest. The next morning, by break of day, Silanus, who was to lead away the faithful troops, pretended to make preparation for his march, and drew up his manipuli near the gates: but he had secret orders to return into the heart of the city, upon a signal agreed on. Scipio, at a proper time, gave the usual notice for his soldiers to assemble in the market-place; and upon the first sound of the trumpet, the seditions all ran thither without their arms, as the laws required. Silanus, at the same time, brought back his armed troops, and surrounded the assembly. The proconsul in a long harangue, expostulated with the mutineers on the baseness and folly of their late proceeding, when the sum of their grievances could amount to no more than this: "That their general, being sick, had neglected to pay them at the usual time." As soon as he had ended his speech, the names of the thirty-five chiefs of the revolt who had been already condemned by a council of war, were called over; they appeared before the tribunal half naked, were whipped, and afterwards beheaded by the lictors. Then the herald called over the names

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
fifty.  
246th Consulship.

Livy, B. 26.  
c. 27.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 23.  
c. 32.

of all the rest of the mutineers; the general took the military oath of them anew; and thus ended the sedition.

Scipio was yet at New Carthage, when he received an account that Indibilis and Mandonius had raised an army among their subjects and allies, of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, and were living upon free quarter, in the territories of the friends of Rome. It was necessary to put a stop to the progress of these faithless princes, and to employ the seditious troops (who were now quiet, and had received their pay) jointly with the rest, in the expedition. Scipio therefore having assembled all in the market-place, spoke to this effect: "The resolution I have taken to punish the perfidious Spaniards, gives me much less uneasiness than the vengeance I was forced to execute on the late mutineers. Among these, I found none but citizens of Rome, or Latines, old soldiers who had been attached to my father, and the companions of my victories. I could not do justice upon them without tears. But among those I am going to punish, I shall find none but strangers and ingrates, robbers and their leaders, who lay waste the fields of our allies, and burn their houses. Let us go then and clear the plains of these banditti; nor let it be said, that in this province, so happily subdued, we left in arms one single enemy of the Roman name." Whilst the proconsul was speaking, he saw alacrity and joy painted on every face; and taking advantage of the pre-

Polyb. B.  
11. c. 29.



sent disposition of his soldiers, he immediately began his march. In fourteen days he came up with the enemy in the country of the Sedetani, and there gained a complete victory. The Spaniards lost about two thirds of their army, the rest escaped with Indibilis and Mandonius. These brothers had now no resource but in the clemency of the conqueror. Mandonius came and fell at the proconsul's feet, begging pardon for the king, and for himself. He laid the blame of their revolt on the misfortunes of the times, and the unaccountable effect which the report of Scipio's death had caused in the minds of men, even of the Romans themselves. The proconsul gave him the following answer: "Both Indibilis and you have deserved to die; live nevertheless, and owe your lives to my favour, and the favour of the Roman people. I shall not disarm you; that would look as if I feared you. Neither will I take vengeance upon your blameless hostages, should you again rebel, but upon yourselves. Consider therefore whether you shall like better to feel the effects of our clemency in peace, or to experience the severity of our revenge." Scipio carried his resentments no further; only he obliged the two princes to furnish him with a large sum of money. Then he divided his army into two parts; gave one to Silanus, to conduct it to Tarraco; and ordered Marcus to lead the other to the shores of the ocean. He himself joined the latter soon after near Gades.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVIII  
Bef. J. C. 8  
Two hundred  
and five  
246th Con-  
sulship

Livy, B. 28.  
c. 34.

c. 35.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVII.  
Bef J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.

246th Con-  
sulship.

of B. vii.  
FE. 30

was to fix Masinissa in the interest of Rome: the Numidian, who was then at Gades with Mago, delayed concluding an alliance with the republic, till he should confer with Scipio in person, and have his sanction to the treaty. Upon the approach of the Roman general, Masinissa representing to Mago, that the cavalry were not only a burden to the island, but would be ruined by inaction and want of forage, obtained leave to transport them to the continent. He was no sooner landed, but he sent three Numidian chiefs to the proconsul; who, with them, fixed the time and place for an interview. Masinissa had already conceived a high opinion of Scipio, and was confirmed in that opinion by the first sight of him. The proconsul had an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance; he was in his full strength, and in the bloom of manly beauty. His hair flowed down his back to a great length. There was nothing affected, or too negligent about him; his habit plain, but neat, and such as became a soldier, who despised the studied elegances of dress. The Numidian began with a compliment of thanks for Scipio's having formerly sent him back his nephew, taken prisoner in battle; assuring him, that ever since that time he had been seeking the opportunity which now presented itself, and desired nothing more earnestly than a strict union with Scipio and Rome. He added, that if the republic would send the proconsul into Africa at the head of an army, he did not doubt but the domination

of Carthage would soon be at an end. Scipio returned these advances with dignity and politeness; and was extremely pleased to engage in his interest a prince, who, in every battle, had been the soul of the enemy's cavalry; and whose very aspect promised a man of spirit. The treaty concluded, Scipio set out for Tarraco. The Numidian concealed the true design of his excursion, by pillaging some part of the continent, before he went back to Gades; and Mago soon after abandoned the place, having received orders to go to the assistance of his brother Hannibal in Italy. The Carthaginian signalized his departure from Gades, by cruel exactions and oppressions. He stripped the temples, plundered the public treasury, and forced private persons to give him their gold and silver. His view was, with this money to raise new levies among the Ligurians in Cisalpine Gaul. But as he coasted along Spain in his way thither, he formed the rash design of surprising New Carthage, and in the attempt lost eight hundred men. After this misfortune he returned to Gades, where, finding the gates shut against him, he retired to Cimbis, a neighbouring city. From thence he sent deputies to the Gaditani, (who were themselves a colony of Phœnicians, as well as the Carthaginians) to complain of their proceedings. The chief magistrate and the treasurer of the city went out to him, and assured him, that the refusal he had met with was owing wholly to the populace, whom the Carthagi-

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C. 1  
Two hundred five.

246th Consulship.

Livy, B. 28.  
c. 36, 37.



Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred five.  
246th, Con-  
sulship.

nian soldiers had plundered at their departure. This civility Mago returned with cruelty, causing the deputies to be inhumanly scourged, and afterwards crucified. He then steered his course towards the Baleares, landed at the island now called Minorca, forced two thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his republic, and sent them to Carthage. Winter approaching, he did not sail for Italy till the spring.

Zon. B. 9.  
c. 11.  
Livy, B. 28.  
c. 38.

As soon as Mago had left Spain, the Gaditani submitted to the Romans; and Scipio's conquest was complete. Before he got back to Tarraco, two new proconsuls, Cornelius Lentulus and Manlius Acidinus, arrived in the port with commissions from the senate, one to govern Hither Spain, the other Further Spain. Scipio surrendered up the fasces; and, attended by his brother Lucius, and his friend Lælius, immediately set sail with ten ships for Italy.

Livy, B. 29.  
c. 1.

Scarce was Scipio gone, when Indibilis and Mandonius despising the new proconsuls, revolted, and engaged several of the Spanish nations to take arms to recover their independence. They got together 30,000 foot, and about 4000 horse. Lentulus and Acidinus endeavoured to bring them back to obedience by negotiations. These proving ineffectual a battle ensued; Indibilis was slain; the confederate army totally routed, 13,000 of them killed, and 800 taken prisoners.

The Spaniards, to preserve their countries from the ravages of the enemy, seized Mandonius with the other heads of the revolt, and



sent them in custody to the camp of the proconsuls, who had insisted on this as a condition of their showing mercy to the vanquished. Thus was the confederacy broken; and Spain continued for some years in tranquillity.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred five.

246th Consulship.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

## FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

*Scipio chosen consul, goes into Sicily to prepare for invading Africa.*

*He surprises Locri. The cruelties exercised by the prætor Pleminius in that city.*

*The Romans send for the goddess Cybele from Pessinus in Phrygia. A miracle wrought at her landing.*

WHEN Scipio arrived from Spain, he did not immediately enter within the walls of Rome, but according to the established custom of generals, continued in the suburbs; till the senate, assembled in the Temple of Bellona, had heard the relation of his expeditions. He gave them a detail of his exploits, told them how many battles he had fought, how many towns he had taken, and what nations he had subdued, adding, that though he had found in Spain four Carthaginian generals at the head of four flourishing armies, yet he had not left in the country one Carthaginian in arms. But though Scipio deserved a triumph, he demanded it but faintly, as knowing that the laws were against his having that honour: his appointment to the proconsulship had been extraordinary, and out of rule: he had not passed to it from the con-

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred four.

247th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 28.  
c. 38.

Year of  
R O M E  
DXLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred four.

247th Con-  
sulship.

sulship, nor had he taken the command of an army under the sanction of the greater auspices, like the consuls. However, he adorned his entry into Rome by a great quantity of silver, which he had brought from Spain for the public treasury, and which was carried before him in the procession.

And now the *comitia* being held for electing new consuls, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the centuries gave their suffrages in favour of Scipio, though he had not yet attained to the years customarily required for that dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The colleague appointed him was P. Licinius Crassus, surnamed Dives, who being at this time pontifex maximus, an office which confined him to Italy, the province of Sicily was given to Scipio without drawing lots. But Scipio could not be satisfied, unless he had also a commission to go immediately with an army into Africa. The matter was debated in the senate. Scipio depending upon the favour of the people, had not scrupled openly to give out, that he had been appointed consul, “not only to carry on the war, but to finish it; that this could be done no other way than by his transporting an army into Africa; and that if the senate should oppose this design, he would have recourse to the people, and put it in execution by their authority.” These unguarded words had given great offence to the fathers. Old Fabius, now president of the senate, declared loudly against

Livy, B. 28.  
c. 40, et  
seq.

Plut. Life of  
Fabius.



the pretensions of the young consul, and employed all his eloquence to hinder his being sent into Africa. In a long and studied harangue, he set forth the difficulties of such an enterprise, the fatal consequences which might attend it, and the necessity of driving Hannibal out of Italy, before the war could safely be carried into the neighbourhood of Carthage. He said, it would be endless to enumerate all the instances of kings and generals, who, by rash invasions of foreign countries, had ruined themselves and their armies. He mentioned the irreparable mischief which had happened to the Athenians, by their descent upon Sicily, in pursuance of the advice of Alcibiades, a noble youth, and an expert general. But he insisted especially on the more recent and interesting example of Atilius Regulus, the catastrophe of whose fortune, fair in its beginning, ought to be a useful lesson to them. And Fabius took great pains to guard against the suspicion of his being actuated by emulation or jealousy of another's glory in this opposition to Scipio's desires. "I," said he, "am grown old in the possession of honours. Two dictatorships, five consulships, the success of my counsels, many victories, raise me above any rivalry with a young general, not yet come to the years of my son. When I was dictator, and in the full career of glory, and when my general of the horse, a man incessantly declaiming against me, was put upon an equality with me in the command, (an unprecedented hardship) no one

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heard me, either in the senate or in the assemblies of the people, refuse to acquiesce. And is it likely that now, in my old age, when weary of public affairs, weary of the world, and even of life itself, I should enter into an emulation with a youth, a general in the prime of life, full of vigour and activity; or that I expect to have the province of Africa assigned to me, if it should be denied to him? No, I am content with the glory I have acquired. It is enough for me to have hindered Hannibal from completing his conquest, that by younger captains, you that are in the flower of your age and strength, he might be afterwards entirely overcome. But you will pardon me, P. Cornelins, if I, who, for the sake of the commonwealth, always neglected popular applause, and my own private advantage, cannot now to the real welfare of the republic prefer the imaginary interests of your glory. I say, imaginary interests; for no sooner will you have a view of that coast, whither you are so eager to sail, than you will be sensible that your exploits in Spain were but sport and play, in comparison of what you will have to do in Africa. In Spain you landed at Emporiæ, a confederate port; and, through countries in alliance with Rome, or guarded by Roman troops, you marched safe and undisturbed to New Carthage, which you had opportunity to besiege, without fear of molestation from any one of the Carthaginian generals, who were then all at a great distance. In Africa, no friendly port to

receive your fleet, no ally to add strength to your army——unless you trust to Syphax and the Numidians. You trusted them once; let that suffice: rashness is not always fortunate.

The fraudulent sometimes procure themselves credit by fidelity in small things, that they may afterwards the more easily deceive in matters of moment, and when it can serve a weighty interest. Syphax and Masinissa, it is not to be doubted, would gladly be more powerful in Africa than the Carthaginians; but it is as little to be questioned, they had rather Carthage should have the superiority there than strangers. Emulation prevails amongst those powers, while the fear of foreign arms is yet remote: let them but once see the Roman banners displayed in Africa, and they will all run together as to extinguish a fire, that threatens the general destruction. What if Carthage, confiding in the strength of her walls, the fidelity of her allies, and the unanimity of all the states around her, should resolve, when she sees Italy no longer guarded by you and your troops, to pour in upon us a new army from Africa? Or order Mago, who is even now with a fleet on the coast of Liguria, to join his brother Hannibal? We should then be in the same terror as when Asdrubal invaded Italy, that Asdrubal, whom you, who, with your army, are to invest not only Carthage, but all Africa, suffered to slip through your hands into this country. You will say, ‘you vanquished him.’ Be it so. But I could wish then, for your own sake, as well

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as for the sake of the republic, that you had not opened a passage for the same vanquished man to come into Italy. However, let us ascribe to your wise conduct every enterprise of yours that prospered, and all your ill success to fortune and the chance of war. The more brave and the more worthy you are, the more it concerns your country and all Italy to retain such a protector. That wherever Hannibal is, there is the principal seat of this war, you yourself allow, since to draw him into Africa is your sole pretence for passing thither. With Hannibal therefore you propose to contend, whether here or there. And will you be stronger in that country, and alone, than here, when joined by your colleague and his army? Will Hannibal be weaker in the neighbourhood of Carthage, and supported by all Africa, than now, when he is confined to a corner of Brutium, and in want of supplies, which he has long, but in vain, demanded from his country? Would a prudent man choose to fight where the enemy is double his number, when he may with two armies attack one, and this one already fatigued and exhausted by many battles and a distressful war? Consider how different your conduct is from your father's. He, though on his way to carry the war into Spain, returned to meet Hannibal at the foot of the Alps: you, while Hannibal is in Italy, are preparing to leave the country, not because it is advantageous to the republic, but because you think it for your glory; as when, being general for the



Roman people, you, against law, and without authority from the senate, left your province and your army, and with only two ships sailed to Africa, hazarding in your person the interest of the public, and the majesty of the empire. My opinion, conscript fathers, is, that P. Cornelius was created consul, not for himself, but for us and for the republic; and that the armies were raised for the defence of Rome and Italy, and not that the consuls, might, out of pride, like kings, transport them into whatever countries they pleased."

Notwithstanding what Fabius had said of his own integrity, and his unmixed zeal for his country's good on the present occasion, Scipio did not fail to observe, that "while the old man was proving himself free from all jealousy or emulation, he had taken particular care to extol his own actions, and to depreciate those of a young man, with whom, nevertheless, it was impossible he should have any competition for glory." He then proceeded to justify his design of going into Africa. "Fabius tells us, that it is an inaccessible coast, that there is no port open to receive us. He reminds us of Atilius Regulus, taken captive in Africa; as if Regulus had failed in attempting a descent on that country. He forgets, that this unfortunate commander found the Carthaginian havens open, performed many noble actions the first year, and, to the last, remained unconquerable by any Carthaginian general. But, it seems, we are to take warning from the example of the Athenians. If we

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\* See vol.  
iv. p. 25,  
26.

have leisure, conscript fathers, to hearken to Grecian tales, why does he not rather speak of Agathocles, king of Syracuse, who, when Sicily was distressed by the Carthaginians, transferred\* the war from that island to the very gates of Carthage?" He then asserted that no method could be so effectual to force Hannibal out of Italy as to carry the war into Africa, whither Carthage would undoubtedly recal him in so pressing a danger. He argued, that since the allies of Rome had deserted her after the battle of Cannæ, and this in greater numbers than Hannibal himself could have expected, certainly the Carthaginian republic, imperious and oppressive to her subjects, and faithless to her allies, had little reason to depend on the constancy of the Africans. That as she had no inherent strength, and was obliged to trust absolutely to mercenaries, or to allies, whose very character was inconstancy, she would not be able to support the war like Rome, potent by her own strength, and whose citizens were all soldiers. He concluded with these words, "It would be tedious, and what no way concerns you, conscript fathers, if, as Q. Fabius has made light of my actions in Spain, I should attempt to lessen his merit, and extol my own. I shall therefore do neither: in moderation at least, and in continence of speech, if in nothing else, young as I am, I will surpass this old general. Such has been the constant tenor of my life and actions, both in public and private, that I can be silent

on this subject, and easily rest contented with the opinion which you have formed of me."

Scipio's discourse was not favourably received by the senate. The report that he intended to have recourse to the people, had prejudiced the assembly against him. Fulvius, who had been twice consul and once censor, desired him to declare frankly, whether he would refer the affair of the provinces to the deliberation of the fathers, and acquiesce in their decree, or, in case he should not like it, appeal from it to the people. Scipio answered, that he would do what he thought most conducive to the public welfare. To which Fulvius replied: "When I asked you these questions, I was not ignorant either of what you would answer, or of what you would do: for it is plain your design is rather to sound than consult the senate; and, unless we immediately decree you the province you desire, you are prepared to lay the matter before the people." Then turning towards the tribunes of the commons, "I refuse," said he, "to declare my opinion; because should it be approved by the senate, the consul would not submit to their determination: and I desire you, tribunes, to support me in this refusal." Scipio contended, that it was not equitable for the tribunes to obstruct a consul in his demanding the opinion of any senator. They nevertheless pronounced, that, if the consul would refer the matter in question to the senate, the senate's decree should stand; nor would they suffer an appeal from it to

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the people; but if he would not refer the matter to the senate, they would support all those who should refuse to declare their opinions. Scipio desired one day's time to consult with his colleague. To this they consented. The day following the assembly met again, and then, the consul submitting the affair to the determination of the conscript fathers, without appeal, they decreed, That Scipio should have Sicily, and the fleet of thirty ships of war, now commanded by the prætor of that island, and that if he thought it for the advantage of the republic, he might sail to Afric<sup>1</sup>. As for Licinius, he was directed to carry on the war against Hannibal in Bruttium.

Livy, B. 28.  
c. 45.

Though Africa was not assigned to Scipio as his province, nor any levies granted him for the enterprise which he had in view; nevertheless, he obtained leave to take with him into Sicily as many volunteers as he could assemble; and also permission to ask of the allies all necessities for building and equipping a new fleet.

<sup>1</sup> From this decree, and the after conduct of the senate, it is not improbable what Livy hints, [speaking of the transactions of the next year] that their design was to make preparations for carrying the war into Africa, without doing it by public authority; and to lull the Carthaginians into security, by making them believe, that these preparations were only the effect of Scipio's ambition, which the senate would not fail to oppose. "Quamquam nondum aperte Africa provincia decreta erat (occultatibus id, credo patribus, ne præsciscerent Carthaginenses) tamen in eam spem erecta civitas erat in Africa eo anno debellatum iri, finemque bello Punico adesse." Livy, L. 29. c. 14.

Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves, in order to furnish him, not only with materials for the ships, but with arms and provisions for the marines. So that in five and forty days time, after bringing the timber from the forest, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, and about seven thousand volunteers<sup>2</sup>.

About this time Mago (the brother of Hannibal) with twelve thousand foot and near two thousand horse, landed at Genoa, and took it: and finding two nations of Liguria, the Ingaunians and Intemelians, at war, he joined the former, his army increasing daily by the great number of Gauls that flocked to him from all parts. These advices from Spurius Lucretius, who commanded in Cisalpine Gaul, caused a general alarm in the senate: they ordered M. Livius to march his army, of Volones, then in Hetruria, to Ariminum; and Lævinus, to lead the legions appointed for the defence of Rome, to Aretium. Other advices came, that Octavius, the prætor of Sardinia, had taken four-score ships of burden belonging to the Carthaginians. In Bruttium no remarkable action happened between the armies this campaign. The plagues raged in Licinius's camp; and Han-

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Livy, B. 23.  
c. 46.

<sup>2</sup> According to Plutarch, Fabius would have engaged the consul Licinius, to obstruct Scipio's measures: not succeeding herein, he dissuaded the Roman youth from following him into Sicily, as volunteers; and he had before, by his influence in the senate, hindered any funds being assigned to Scipio, for the expense of his armament.

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Livy, B. 29.  
c. 4.

nibal's troops were afflicted with pestilence and famine at the same time.

Scipio was busy in Sicily, forming an army for his African expedition. In his choice of men, he preferred, before all others, the veterans who had served under Marcellus, at the siege of Syracuse. He refitted the old galleys he found in the island, gave the command of them to Lælius, and commissioned him to make a descent on Africa, and pillage the country.

Lælius landed near Hippo, and laid the territory about it waste; which drew the people of Carthage into a great consternation: for they falsely imagined, that Scipio was come with a formidable army. When their fright, upon better information, was over, they sent ambassadors to Syphax, and other princes of Africa, to renew their treaties with them; and also to King Philip of Macedon, offering him two hundred talents of silver, if he would invade either Italy or Sicily. Messengers were despatched to Hannibal and Mago, with instructions to these two brothers, to hinder, if possible, the departure of any troops which Scipio expected from Italy; and a reinforcement of six thousand foot and eight thousand horse was sent to Mago in Liguria, with large sums for hiring troops in Cisalpine Gaul.

Masinissa having learned the arrival of Lælius in Africa, came to confer with him. He assured him, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity to attack Carthage; and expressed his surprise that Scipio had lingered



so long in Sicily. The king added, that though he was by violence dispossessed of the throne of his ancestors, yet he could still bring some troops into the field, and would join the consul at his landing. He also told Lælius, that he believed a Carthaginian fleet was already sailed out of the port to intercept him; and advised him to hasten his departure. Lælius took the prince's counsel, weighed anchor the next day, and arrived safe in Sicily with his booty.

In the meantime, Mago received the reinforcement from Carthage, with orders to raise as numerous an army as possible, and hasten to join his brother: upon which he called a council of the chiefs of Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, and endeavoured to persuade them to declare openly against Rome; and furnish him with troops. The Ligurians complied; but the Gauls durst not follow their example; because there were actually two Roman armies (under Livius and Lucretius) in their neighbourhood. However, they consented to his levying men privately in their country; and supplied him with provisions and forage. Livius led his army from Hetruria into Gaul, intending, if Mago approached Rome, to march, in conjunction with Lucretius, and give him battle; but to post himself near Ariminum, in case the Carthaginian should continue in Liguria; which it is probable he did, since we hear of no action in that part of Italy this campaign.

While Scipio was at Messina, he received in-

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Livy, B. 29.  
c. 5.

c. 6, et seq.

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formation, that a plot was formed by some Locrians, then in exile at Rhegium, to surprise their native city (which stood on the sea-coast in Bruttium) and put it again into the hands of the Romans. He sent Pleminius with two tribunes, and three thousand men, to assist in the enterprise. There were two citadels belonging to the place; and, when the Romans had made themselves masters of one, the Carthaginians retired into the other, leaving the inhabitants in sole possession of the city. These favoured the Romans; so that when Hannibal came to invest the place, they let in Scipio (who had hastened to their relief) privately in the night: the next morning he made a vigorous sally, and repulsed the assailants. Hannibal having learned, that Scipio was in person at the head of his troops, immediately retired to his camp near the Alex, sending orders to the Carthaginians in the citadel to provide for their safety as well as they could. Hereupon, setting fire to the houses, they escaped amidst the confusion, and joined their general before night.

Scipio left the government of Locri to Pleminius, who treated the inhabitants more cruelly than if their city had been taken by assault: he rifled the temples of their gods, and seized the treasure in the sanctuary of Proserpine. The two tribunes were no less rapacious. Their soldiers, in a scuffle with those of the proprætor, about plunder, happened to wound some of them; of which these having made

their complaint to him, he ordered the tribunes to be whipped. But the tribunes were rescued by their followers, who not only mauled the lictors, but pulled Pleminius himself from off his tribunal, dragged him into a private place, beat him severely, cut off his nose and ears, and left him weltering in his blood. This accident made it necessary for Scipio to return to Locri. He took the part of the proprætor, put the tribunes in chains, and ordered them to be carried to Rome to be judged. But this did not satisfy Pleminius: as soon as the consul was gone, he of his own authority condemned the tribunes to die by the most cruel torments, and their bodies to be left unburied; and, not yet content, he exercised the same cruelty towards those of the inhabitants who had complained to Scipio of his rapines and brutalities. The odium of these horrible actions fell in some measure upon the consul: he had indeed been too indulgent to the guilty governor; for which (as we shall see hereafter) his enemies, in the senate, did not fail to inveigh against him, when occasion offered.

The time for the elections drew near: the consul Licinius being sick of the plague, in his camp, could not go to Rome, to preside in the *comitia*. He therefore, with the approbation of the senate, named a dictator for that purpose; and his choice fell upon Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who, in the quality of proconsul, was commanding a second army in Bruttium. In

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sulship.  
Liv. B. 29.  
c. 10.

App. in  
Annib.  
Ovid. Fast.

Liv. B. 29.  
c. 11.

this army also the plague so raged, that Licinius pressed the senate to recal the troops, assuring them, that otherwise there would not be a soldier left alive.

Many prodigies happening this year, and the Sybilline books being consulted for the proper expiations, the decemvirs found it written in those oracles, " That if a foreign enemy invaded Italy, he might be vanquished, and driven out of it, if the goddess Cybele were brought to Rome from Pessinus in Phrygia. This same Cybele (styled the mother of the gods) was nothing more than a shapeless stone, which, as was pretended, had fallen down from heaven upon mount Ida. The conscript fathers sent five ambassadors, men of distinction, to obtain by negotiation this powerful protectress. And, because the Romans had little commerce with the Asiatics, the ambassadors were to engage Attalus, king of Pergamus, in their interest. They went by the way of Delphi, and there consulted the oracle; from which they received this answer, " That by the help of Attalus they should infallibly obtain what they desired; but that, when they had carried the goddess to Rome, they should put her into no hands, but of the most virtuous man in the republic." King Attalus was so obliging as to conduct the ambassadors himself to Pessinus, where the inhabitants, with equal complaisance, granted them the stone they so earnestly desired. One of them sailed away before the rest, to give notice at Rome, that the goddess was coming;

and to report the answer of the Delphic oracle. And now the great difficulty was, to find out that man of superior probity, who alone was worthy to receive the sacred and important stone, at its landing. History has not told us the remarkable virtues which gained P. Cornelius Scipio, surnamed Nasica, the preference before all others : but this young man, cousin-german to the great Scipio, and son to Cneius Scipio, (who lost his life in Spain) was the person who obtained the honourable distinction. Attended by such of the ladies of Rome, as were in the highest veneration for their virtue, he went to meet the goddess. Some of the vestals likewise accompanied him, and particularly Quinta Claudia ; of whom it is related, that when the vessel, on which the goddess was imported, unfortunately stuck upon a bank of sand near the mouth of the Tyber, and neither the mariners, nor several yoke of oxen, were able to move it, she, pulling it only by her girdle tied to it, easily set it afloat. Claudia is said to have been suspected of incontinence ; and it is added, that this miracle was wrought in answer of her prayer to the goddess, to give a testimony of her innocence. There are not wanting fathers of the church, who allow the fact, but they piously impute it to good angels, sent by God, to destroy the unjust aspersion cast upon the vestal. The day on which Cybele arrived at Rome became a solemn annual festival, distinguished by games, called Megalenses. She was deposited in the temple of VICTORY.

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Livy, B. 29.  
c. 14.

App. in  
Annib.  
345.

## CHAP. XXXV.

## FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

*Scipio is continued in his command in Sicily.*

*He is accused in the senate, by his quæster, Cato, of profuseness and idleness.*

*He is also accused of partiality to the cruel Pleminius.*

*Commissioners are appointed to inquire into his conduct.*

*Their report favourable to him.*

*Syphax declares for the Carthaginians.*

*Scipio makes a descent on Africa. Masinissa joins him.*

*A remarkable quarrel between the censors at Rome.*

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Two hun-  
dred three.

248th Con-  
sulship.  
Liv. B. 29.  
c. 12.

BEFORE the arrival of the goddess, the dictator Q. Cæcilius Metellus had held the *comitia* by centuries where M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, were chosen consuls. Sempronius was then proconsul in Greece. The Romans having, for two years past, (*i. e.* from the year 546,) neglected their affairs in Greece, Philip had forced the Ætolians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms. Soon after this, Sempronius arrived at Dyrrachium with 10,000 foot, 1000 horse, and thirty-five ships of war. He was very angry with the Ætolians, for having, contrary to the league, made peace without consent of the Romans. Yet, not daring to venture a battle with Philip, he was easily prevailed upon to come to an agreement with him, by the mediation of the Epirots. The treaty was confirmed by the people of Rome. In this treaty were included, on Philip's side, Prusias king of Bithynia, the



Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots; and, on the side of the Romans, the Ilienses, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. Sempronius returned to Rome, after which the following distribution of offices was agreed upon. The consul Cornelius had the command of the forces in Hetruria; his colleague Sempronius was ordered into Bruttium with new levies, to act against Hannibal; and Licinius continued at the head of two legions, in that country, in quality of proconsul. Pomponius Matho had the prætorship of Sicily; Scipio, the army and fleet he before commanded; and M. Livius and Sp. Lucretius remained in Gaul to oppose Mago. There were also two other armies in Italy, one at Tarentum, under T. Quintius Flaminius, the other at Capua, under Hostilius Tubulus.

About this time young Marcellus dedicated a temple to Virtue. His father had formerly vowed one to Honour and Virtue, intending to place the statues of both under one roof. But the pontifices opposed this, declaring, that it was not lawful to worship more than one god in one temple; and they likewise urged, that if lightning fell upon the building, or any prodigy should happen in it, it would be impossible to discover to which of the two divinities expiatory duties should be paid. The temple therefore, which Marcellus had designed for both divinities, was dedicated only to Honour, and another built in all haste to VIRTUE.

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Two hundred three.

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Liv. B. 29.  
c. 11. et B.  
27. c. 25.

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DXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred three.

248th Con-  
sulship.

Liv. B. 29.  
c. 16.

And now the republic being to recruit her armies, she thought proper to call to account the twelve Roman colonies, who, about six years before, had with impunity refused their contingents of men and money. The senate determined, that each colony should furnish double the number of foot it had done in any year of the war, and a hundred and twenty horse. If any of them could not raise the number of horse required, they were to send three foot soldiers in the room of each horseman wanting. The fathers also imposed a new yearly tax upon each colony, and ordered its census to be taken according to the form used at Rome. This decree was put in execution with rigour. It was followed by another in favour of those private persons, who, in the consulship of Lævinus, had lent the republic the sums requisite to supply her pressing wants. At the motion of Lævinus, the senate ordered these debts to be discharged at three payments; the first to be made immediately, and the last within five years.

Such instances of equity in the conscript fathers emboldened all, who were oppressed, to demand justice; and particularly the Locrians, who the last year had been so ill treated by Pleminius. From this people, ten deputies, in a neglected and sordid dress, (the mark of grief and distress among the ancients) and with olive branches in their hands, came to Rome, and laid before the senate, in a long and pathetic harangue, the grievances and miseries they had



suffered under the tyranny of the proprætor. When the Locrians had done speaking, Fabius asked them, whether they had made their complaint to Scipio; to which they answered, that deputies had been sent to him for that purpose, but that he was then busy about his preparations for war, and that now he was either gone for Africa, or intended to sail in a few days; that they had seen, in the quarrel between the tribunes and Pleminius, how much Scipio favoured the latter, whom, though equally criminal, if not more so, he had continued in his government, while he ordered the tribunes to be laid in irons. After the deputies had withdrawn, some of the chief senators not only inveighed against Pleminius, but began to take Scipio's character to pieces. Among these was M. Porcius Cato, the first of his family who distinguished himself at Rome. He had been quæstor to Scipio in Sicily, and had reproved him for his profuseness to his soldiers, to which the general had answered, "that he did not want so exact a quæstor; that he would make war at what expense he pleased, nor was he to give an account to the Roman people of the money he spent, but of his enterprises and the execution of them." Cato, provoked at this answer, had left Sicily, and returned to Rome. He now declaimed against Scipio, accusing him of making great and useless expenses, of passing his time boyishly at the theatre and the Gymnasia, as if he had been commissioned, not to make war, but to celebrate games. Others

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DXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred three.  
248th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 29.  
c. 19.

Plut. in  
Cat. Maj.



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DXLIX.  
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Two hun-  
dred three.

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sulship.

Liv. B. 29.  
c. 19.

of the senators added, that the proconsul had laid aside the Roman habit, publicly appeared in the Greek cloak and sandals, and that the reading of Greek books, and the pleasures of Syracuse, had made him entirely forget Hannibal and Carthage, while his army, grown as effeminate as their general, was become more terrible to their allies than their enemies. Fabius called Scipio a man born to be the corrupter of military discipline. "He acted," said the old man, "the like part in Spain, where we lost not much less by sedition than we did by the war. One while he indulges his soldiers in all licentiousness, and then cruelly tyrannizes over them; as if he were a king and a foreigner<sup>1</sup>." Fabius's sentence was as harsh as his invective: "That Scipio should be recalled home, for having quitted his province without orders from the senate; and that the tribunes should be desired to move the *comitia*, to depose him from the proconsulate. That Pleminius should be brought to Rome in chains, and, in case the crimes laid to his charge were proved, be executed in prison, and his goods confiscated. And, lastly, that the senate should disavow the ill treatment of the Locrians, and give them all the satisfaction possible for the wrongs they had suffered."

c. 20.

The debate was carried to such a length, that the opinions of all the senators could not be taken that day. In the next assembly, the

<sup>1</sup> Externo et regio more, et indulgere licentiæ militum, et sævire in eos. Livy, B. 29. c. 19.

fathers concurred in opinion with Q. Metellus. He approved the proposals of Fabius, with regard to Pleminius and the Locrians, but urged, that it was unreasonable, upon dubious accusations, to recal a general, whom Rome had chosen consul, in the expectation of being by him delivered from Hannibal, and of becoming mistress of Africa: and he moved, that two tribunes of the people, one ædile, and ten other commissioners<sup>2</sup>, out of the senate, should be sent into Sicily with Pomponius the prætor of that island, to take cognizance of Scipio's conduct in the affair of Pleminius; and, if they found him an accomplice in that proprætor's crimes, to send him to Rome; but in case Scipio had already sailed for Africa, the tribunes, the ædile, and two of the commissioners should follow him thither, the last to assume the command of the army, if the proconsul should be ordered home. The commissioners, who were to embark at Rhegium, went first to Locri. There they seized the guilty governor, and thirty-two of his accomplices, put them in irons, and sent them to Rome. They also made reparation to the Locrians for their losses, and,

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this pompous embassy was rather designed to inquire into the state of Scipio's army, and to see whether it was yet a proper time for the senate to give him openly a commission to carry the war into Africa. This conjecture seems confirmed by the conduct of the commissioners, who, even after the Locrians had cleared Scipio, or dropped the accusation, went nevertheless into Sicily; though the decree of the senate, as it is in Livy, had confined their commission to the affair of Pleminius.

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DXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred three.

248th Consulship.

96 B. C.

Year of  
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DXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred three.

248th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 29.  
c. 22.

having examined them concerning Scipio's conduct, received answer, "that though the pro-consul had not shown great concern at the miseries of their city, yet he was a man they had much rather have for a friend than an enemy: that they persuaded themselves so many heinous crimes had not been committed by his command, or with his approbation; that he had only given too much credit to Pleminius, and too little to them; and that such was the disposition of some men, they were more willing to believe people innocent, than disposed to punish them when guilty." This declaration pleased the commissioners, as it freed them from the invidious office of beginning a criminal process against a man so much in favour with the people of Rome. And, when they came into Sicily, they were thoroughly convinced, by the vast preparations Scipio had made for his intended expedition, and the fine appearance both of his army and fleet, that the general had not spent his time wholly at the theatre, and in amusements. "Go," said they, "into Africa, and the gods give you that success which the Roman people promised themselves from your virtue and abilities, when they chose you consul. Such a general and such an army will conquer the Carthaginians, or they are invincible."

The report of the commissioners at their return to Rome, raised the glory of Scipio. The senate passed a decree, that he should immediately go into Africa, and take with him such



of the Roman troops in Sicily as he thought fit for his enterprise. And, as for the people, the favour in which he stood with them, made them tender even to the guilty Pleminius, for whom they imagined the proconsul had some regard. Their compassion for the criminal was likewise raised, by seeing the miserable figure he made, without his nose and ears; so that, though he was often produced before them, he was never condemned. He died in prison, or, as some say, was, long after this, executed for attempting to set fire to Rome.

It has been before observed, that Scipio, in order to pave his way to Carthage, had gained over to the Roman interest the two Numidian kings, Syphax and Masinissa. The African republic endeavoured to destroy the engagements which those princes had entered into with her enemy: and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, by the means of his daughter Sophonisba, drew off Syphax<sup>3</sup>. The historians represent her as a woman of excellent beauty, accompanied with graces and a manner irresistibly winning; love for her country, the ruling passion of her soul, with a courage to execute whatever that love

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Livy, B. 29.

c. 23.

Appian. in  
Punic. 6.

<sup>3</sup> According to Appian (in Punic. c. 6.) Asdrubal had promised his daughter in marriage to Masinissa: but, Syphax being in love with her, the Carthaginians, to bring him off from the alliance of Rome, gave him Sophonisba, without the knowledge of her father, who was then in Spain. Masinissa, in revenge, privately entered into a league with Scipio. Upon hearing this, Asdrubal (says the same historian) was indeed sorry for the injury done to the young prince, but resolved to have him murdered,

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could dictate. This lady being given in marriage to Syphax, his passion for her made him forget his engagements with Rome; and he readily entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with Carthage. Prompted by Asdrubal, he wrote a letter to Scipio, to dissuade him from making a descent upon Africa, acquainting him at the same time with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the Carthaginians, and the necessity he should be under of taking part with them, in case they were attacked.

Livy, B. 29.  
c. 24.

The proconsul received this letter at Syracuse with some surprise; and, to conceal the contents of it from his army, sent back the messenger immediately, with a short answer to the Numidian prince, advising him to beware how he offended both gods and men, by a violation of public faith: after which, assembling his troops, he bid them prepare for a voyage to Africa: "Formerly," said he, "Masinissa complained to Lælius of my dilatoriness; and now Syphax presses me to hasten my departure; and desires, that if I have changed my resolution, I will let him know it, that he may pro-

because it was for the interest of Carthage. Accordingly he sent guards with him under pretence of convoying him into his dominions, but gave them secret instructions to kill him. Masinissa having discovered the design, found means to escape. Zonaras tells us, that Asdrubal promised his daughter to Masinissa, but afterwards broke his word, and gave her to Syphax; thinking it of greater consequence to gain this prince to the interest of Carthage than the other.



vide for his own safety. He then ordered his ships of war and transports to Lilybæum; and thither he, in person, marched the land forces, purposing to set sail with the first favourable wind. All the troops showed an incredible ardour to follow him in this expedition, especially those legionaries, who had run away at the battle of Cannæ, and had therefore been condemned to stay in Sicily, for the whole time that Hannibal should continue in Italy. As they were old soldiers, and had been in many battles and sieges, the proconsul, notwithstanding their disgrace, took with him as many of them as were fit for service.

Lælius commanded the fleet. It is uncertain what number of men were embarked; but never was embarkation made with more order and solemnity; and the concourse of people, who came from all parts to see it, and to wish the proconsul a prosperous voyage, was incredibly great. Just before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley, and, after a herald had proclaimed silence, addressed this prayer to Heaven: "O all ye gods and goddesses of earth and sea, I entreat and implore you to make, whatever I have done, am doing, or shall do, in my command, prosperous to me, to the people and commons of Rome, to the allies and the Latine name, to all those who espouse the cause of the people of Rome and mine, and follow my command and auspices by land, by sea, and on rivers: to favour all these enterprises, and increase them with

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DXLIX.

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Two hundred three.

248th Consulship.

Livy, B. 29.  
c. 25.

c. 27.



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R O M E  
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Two hun-  
dred three.  
~~~~~  
248th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 29.  
c. 29.

good increase : bring us all home safe and unhurt, victorious over our enemies, adorned with spoils, loaded with booty, and triumphant : and enable us to execute upon Carthage all that she designed against Rome." When he had ended this prayer, he caused a victim to be slain, and the entrails to be thrown into the sea ; and then the trumpets sounding, he weighed anchor, and with fifty galleys and four hundred ships of burden, set sail, with a favourable wind, for Africa. As he drew towards the coast, he asked the name of the nearest land then in view, and being told it was called the Fair Promontory, he liked the omen, ordered his pilots to direct their course thither, and safely landed his army. Soon after, Masinissa, the only African prince in the interest of Rome, came and joined him. The historians have left us the following relation of the adventures of this young king.

Gala, king of Massylia<sup>4</sup>, and father of Masinissa, had, according to the laws of Numidia, been succeeded by his younger brother Œsalces. And when the latter died, his son, Capusa, had mounted the throne. Capusa was slain in a battle against his rebellious subjects, headed by one Mezetulus, a factious man of the blood royal, and a constant rival and competitor of the kings of Numidia. The conqueror, though he durst not assume the title of king, made himself tutor to Lacumaces, the younger brother of Capusa, and

<sup>4</sup> A part of Numidia.

seized the government, as in right of his ward. And, to secure himself in his usurped authority, he not only entered into an alliance with king Syphax, but married his pupil's mother, who was niece to Hannibal; hoping thereby to gain the Carthaginians to his interest.

Masinissa was then in Spain; where, hearing of Capusa's death, he passed into Africa, and asked assistance of Bocchar, king of Mauritania. Bocchar lent him 4000 men to convoy him to the frontiers of Massylia. There, being joined by a small body of Numidians, and having advice that Lacumaces was marching into Massæsyliā<sup>5</sup>, to ask succours of king Syphax, he surprised the young prince near Thapsus, routed his forces, and took the town; but Lacumaces escaped to Syphax. This success engaged many of the Numidians to side with Masinissa; and particularly the soldiers who had served under his father Gala. Encouraged by these veterans, he ventured, though inferior in number, to attack Mezetulus, who was now in the field with a great army, Lacumaces having brought him a reinforcement of 15,000 foot from Syphax. Masinissa's superior skill in war, and the bravery of his troops, gave him the victory. Lacumaces, with his tutor, and the small remains of their forces, fled for refuge into the territories of Carthage; and the conqueror took possession of the vacant throne. But now, apprehending he should have a much

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Two hundred three.  
248th Consulship.

Livy, B. 29.  
c. 30, 31,  
32, 33.

<sup>5</sup> A part of Numidia.

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dred three.  
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sulship.

more difficult war to sustain against Syphax, he thought it advisable to come to an accommodation with his kinsman. He offered to place him in the same rank Cæsalces had held at Gala's court, pardon Mezetulus, and restore to him all his effects. The princes preferring a moderate, but certain fortune, in their own country, to uncertain hopes in exile, accepted the proposals, notwithstanding all the industry of the Carthaginians to hinder it.

At this time Asdrubal, happening to be at Syphax's court, insinuated to him, that Masinissa was an ambitious enterprising youth, who would not be contented, like his father Gala, or his uncle Cæsalces, with the dominion of Massylia, and if not crushed in the beginning, might one day prove a dangerous neighbour, both to him and the Carthaginians. Syphax, instigated by these suggestions, marched an army against Masinissa: a pitched battle was fought, in which the Massylians were totally vanquished; the king himself narrowly escaped, with only a small guard of horse, to Mount Balbus. Thither some families of his own subjects followed him, with all their cattle, (wherein the riches of the Numidians chiefly consisted) and there being plenty of pasture and water round the mountain, he lived on the milk and flesh of their flocks. The rest of the Massylians submitted to the conqueror.

Masinissa having, in this retreat, got some troops together, began to make nocturnal incursions upon the frontiers of the Carthagi-



nians; and, in a short time, his forces augmenting, he ventured in open day to penetrate further into their country, destroyed the inhabitants, and brought thence a considerable booty. Carthage, to put a stop to his devastations, had recourse to Syphax. The king disdaining to go in person to reduce a band of robbers, despatched away Bocchar, one of his officers, with four thousand foot and two thousand horse. These surrounded the mountain where Masinissa was lodged, hindered the return of the detachments he had sent out, and forced him to the top of the hill.

Bocchar, thinking that he had his enemy secure, sent back all his troops, except five hundred foot and two hundred horse. Soon after, he surprised Masinissa in a narrow pass, attempting to get away by stealth. The prince, with only fifty horse, escaped by flight. Bocchar, and his two hundred horse, pursued him, came up with him near Clypea, and cut in pieces all his guard, except four. With these Masinissa, though wounded, fled full speed; and finding a river in their way, they leaped horse and man into it. Two of them were drowned in crossing the stream; but the prince, and the other two, gained the opposite bank, and hid themselves among some bushes. Bocchar, who pursued them to the river, imagined they had all perished, and went no further; and from that time it was reported at Carthage, and the court of Syphax, that Masinissa was dead. In the meanwhile, he hid himself in a cave, dressed

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Two hun-  
dred three.

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sulship.

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his wound with herbs, and lived upon the prey which his two companions brought him.

Dethroned princes, who have any spirit, do not easily relinquish the hopes of a restoration. Masinissa, as soon as his wound would suffer him to mount on horseback, left his cave, and took the road to his own country. In a few days after his appearance there, some of his people, to the number of six thousand foot and four thousand horse, gathering about him, he not only possessed himself of Massylia, but made dreadful ravages in the territories of the Carthaginian allies, and king Syphax. The latter thinking the affair serious, came in person with an army to stop the enemy's progress. During the battle which followed, Vermina, the son of Syphax, having with a large detachment fetched a compass, fell upon the Massylians in the rear. By this means Masinissa was again defeated<sup>6</sup>. With only sixty horse he fled to the sea coast near the lesser Syrtis; and there he continued, for the most part, till the arrival

<sup>6</sup> Appian makes no mention of this second battle. According to him, after Masinissa was once driven from his kingdom, he continued disposessed of it till Scipio's arrival in Africa; at which time Syphax and the Carthaginians, to draw him off from the Romans, pretended to be reconciled to him, and restored him to his kingdom. Though Masinissa was sensible that they were not sincere, yet he pretended to come into their measures, and joined Asdrubal with his cavalry. However, he held secret intelligence with Scipio, and only waited a favourable opportunity to go over to him, which he did soon after, betraying, at the same time, a party of Carthaginian horse into the hands of the Romans. *In Punic. Sect. 7: et seq.*



of Scipio; by which time he had augmented his troop; for he joined the proconsul with two hundred, some say, two thousand horse.

The alarm and terror which Scipio's descent caused among the Carthaginians, made them think it necessary to strengthen the fortifications of their capital. They had no general in any degree qualified to oppose him in the field. Asdrubal (the son of Gisco) the best they had, is spoken of by Livy, as a man of great quality and wealth, but as excelling in no military talent, except that of saving himself by a swift retreat: nor were they provided with disciplined and experienced soldiers.

Scipio, having ordered his fleet towards Utica, encamped on certain eminences, not far from the sea-coast. Next day, a body of five hundred Carthaginian horse, commanded by Hanno, a young warrior, who had been sent to watch the motions of the enemy, fell in with the advanced guards of the Roman camp, who routed them, and slew their commander.

This first success was a good augury; and Scipio drew near to Locha, a city which seemed to promise his soldiers a rich booty. He had no sooner planted his ladders for the assault, than the inhabitants being terrified, sent a herald to ask their lives, with liberty to retire. Hereupon the general sounded a retreat; but the soldiers, greedy of plunder, would not obey: they forced the town, and put all, even women

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DXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred three.

248th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 29.  
c. 28.

c. 34.

Appian. in  
Punic. 9.

Asdrubale, fugacissimo duce. Liv. B. 30. c. 28.



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DXLIX.  
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Two hun-  
dred three.

248th Con-  
sulship.

and children, to the sword. It was necessary to punish so signal a disobedience; and the centurions being the most guilty, as having encouraged the soldiers to it, the proconsul decreed that three of them should die as lots should determine. The soldiers were deprived of the booty they had taken. After some few expeditions of small moment, Scipio undertook the siege of Utica with all his army. But Asdrubal, who commanded 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse, being joined by Syphax with 50,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, obliged the Roman to dislodge, after he had been before the place forty days. He retreated to a promontory, under which his fleet rode at anchor, intrenched himself there, and waited the return of the spring to renew the war. Asdrubal lay encamped near him, and Syphax at a little distance from the Carthaginian. We shall leave them here awhile, and return to the affairs of Italy.

Livy, B. 29.  
c. 36.

THE consul Sempronius, who marched into Bruttium against Hannibal, was worsted in his first engagement with him, and lost 1200 men: but, in a second, being assisted by the forces of the proconsul Licinius, it is said, he defeated the enemy, left 4000 of them dead upon the spot, and retook several towns after the victory.

c. 37.

On the other hand, the consul Cethegus, who was to act against Mago, kept Hetruria in awe. By commencing legal processes against those who had entered into a correspondence

with the enemy, he prevented the insurrections which the Carthaginian endeavoured to raise in that country. The guilty would not appear upon the summons, but went into a voluntary banishment; and their estates were confiscated.

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Two hundred three.

248th Consulship.

While the consuls were thus employed abroad, the two censors at Rome, Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero, drew a contempt on themselves by a most ridiculous behaviour. Though their quarrels with each other had formerly been very great, yet the distress of the republic, during their consulship, had reconciled them in appearance for some time; but now their mutual hatred broke out afresh. It was customary for the censors, just before leaving their office, to draw up a list of the senators, review the Roman knights, assemble the tribes, and set a mark of infamy on such persons as deserved it. As to the first, Livius and Nero were equitable in their proceedings; but when they came to review the knights, of which body they both were, Nero ordered his colleague's name to be struck out of the list, on pretence that he had been formerly condemned by the people for a misdemeanor. And Livius, when Nero's name was called over, passed the like sentence against him: "My reasons," said he, "are, that he has borne false witness against me, and that his reconciliation with me was not sincere." Their passion and folly appeared yet more extravagant, when they came to take an account of the tribes.

Livy, B. 29.  
c. 37.



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dred three.

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sulship.

Nero ranked his colleague among those whom he declared *ÆRARI*, i. e. persons deprived of the rights of Roman citizenship, but still obliged to pay the public taxes. And Livius not only did as much for Nero, but disfranchised all the thirty-five tribes, except the *Mæcian*, (which was the only one that had formerly voted for him upon his trial) “for,” said he, “it must be owned they acted unjustly, either once when they condemned me, or twice, when they conferred upon me the consulship and censorship.” Among the effects of Livius’s anger against the people, may be reckoned a tax he laid, during his censorship, upon salt; ordering that it should be sold dearer in some places than others. It was hence that he got the name of *Salinator*. These censors, however, were very exact in taking an account of the number of Roman citizens, and sent to the most distant of the camps abroad for that purpose. The number appeared to be two hundred and fourteen thousand fit to bear arms.

#### CHAP. XXXVI.

##### SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

*Scipio attacks the two camps of Syphax and Asdrubal.*

*The Carthaginians attempt to burn the Roman fleet.*

*Syphax taken prisoner. Masinissa’s conduct towards Sophonisba; and Scipio’s censure of it. Her unhappy fate.*

*Hannibal recalled from Italy. He arrives with his army in Africa.*

WHEN the *comitia* had elected Cn. Servilius Cæpio and C. Servilius Geminus consuls for



the new year, and came to appoint the proconsuls, they nominated Scipio for Africa, directing that he should continue there, in that capacity, till the end of the war.

Early in the spring, Scipio, knowing the levity of the Numidian, and hoping (says Polybius) that he might by this time be tired both of his wife and of the Carthaginians, employed some persons to sound his inclinations. Finding that the king insisted on the Romans leaving Africa, and Hannibal's returning from Italy, as the conditions of a treaty, the proconsul formed a new design. He pretended to be very desirous of a peace; and, to carry on the negotiation, frequently sent deputies to the Numidian. These deputies were attended by officers, who understood the art of war, and who, in the habit of servants, acted the part of spies, and observed exactly the state and disposition of both the enemies' camps. The Romans seemed so fond of an accommodation, that Syphax and Asdrubal (for Scipio had desired the king to consult with the Carthaginian) started new pretensions; and the discussion of these demands gave the spies all the time they could desire to make their observations. They at length returned, and made their report to Scipio; who thereupon sent the Numidian this answer: "That he himself was earnest for the treaty, but that none of his council approved the conditions. That the king must therefore come over to the Romans or expect no peace." This declaration put an end to the

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DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred two.

249th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 1.

Polyb. B.  
14. c. 1.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 3.

Appian in  
Panic.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 4.  
Polyb. B.  
14. c. 2.

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.

249th Con-  
sulship.

truce, and Scipio was at liberty to execute his project.

In order thereto, he first sent a detachment to take possession of the ground where he had posted himself the last autumn, when he besieged Utica. This he did to secure his camp from being attacked in his absence, by the garrison of Utica; and to make Asdrubal and Syphax believe, that he intended to renew his enterprise upon that town. He then assembled the ablest and most faithful of his officers, and told them, that his design was to set fire to the two camps of the enemy the following night, an enterprise which might be easily effected, the barracks in which the Carthaginians had wintered being made of wood, and those of the Numidians of reeds. The project was universally applauded. Whereupon Scipio divided his troops, and gave the command of one part to Masinissa, and of another to Lælius, with orders to assail the camp of Syphax on different sides. He himself with the rest of his forces marched towards Asdrubal, but resolving not to begin the attack on his camp till he saw that of the Numidian actually in flames. The whole scheme was happily executed. The Romans surprised and burnt both camps, and destroyed forty thousand of the enemy by fire or sword. Syphax fled to Abba; Asdrubal to a city named Anda; whither being pursued by Scipio, and finding the inhabitants wavering in their resolutions, he would not venture to stand a siege. He retired to Car-

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 5.



thage with two thousand foot and five hundred horse.

Great was the consternation of the people in that city, when they saw him arrive there with those poor remains of his routed army. The suffetes, (whose office in the Carthaginian republic resembled that of the consuls at Rome) convened the senators. Divided in opinion, some were for sending immediately for Hannibal; others for proposing a truce with the enemy: but the Barchine faction insisted upon continuing the war, and would hearken to no expedient which tended to the recalling Hannibal from Italy; and these prevailed. The senate ordered levies to be made both in the city and in the country, and despatched ambassadors to Syphax, pressing him to steadiness in the cause of the republic. Syphax, still at Abba, was greatly at a loss what measures to follow. The ambassadors assured him, that Asdrubal would speedily take the field with a considerable army, and that a large body of Celtiberians from Spain, hired into the service, were already landed, and on their march to Abba. By these assurances, but chiefly by the tears and entreaties of his wife Sophonisba, he was fixed in the interest of Carthage.

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred two.

249th Consulship.

Appian differs widely from Polybius and Livy. He tells us, that the Carthaginians condemned Asdrubal to death for his misconduct, and appointed Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to command the army in his room; and that the former being then at Arda, got together a body of 8000 foot, and 3000 horse, and carried on the war against the Romans, as an independent general.

*App. in Punic. l. 13.*



Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred two.

249th Consulship.

Polyb. B.  
14. c. 7.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 8.

Polyb. B.  
14. c. 9.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 9.

Scipio was busy in the siege of Utica, when he received intelligence that the enemy, having got together near thirty thousand men, were encamped in a place called the Great Plain, about five days' march from him. He immediately turned the siege into a blockade, and hastened to attack them. After some slight skirmishes, the two armies came to a general battle, in which the Romans obtained a complete victory. However, the stout resistance made by the Celtiberians gave the Africans the better opportunity to escape by flight. Asdrubal, with the remains of his army, retired to Carthage, and Syphax, with the best part of his cavalry, into his own country.

The proconsul having called a council of war, it was there agreed, that Lælius and Masinissa should pursue Syphax, and not give him time to recruit his forces; and that Scipio should apply himself to reduce the towns in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Tunis, from whence the capital could be seen, opened her gates to him; the garrison, upon his approach, having deserted the place.

And now Carthage herself, expecting to be besieged, prepared for a long defence; and the senate despatched messengers into Liguria and Bruttium, with orders for Hannibal and Mago to return home with all possible expedition. In the meantime the Carthaginians formed a design to burn the Roman fleet, which lay in shelter under the promontory near Utica. Hamilcar, with a hundred galleys, equipped in

a few days, sailed away to execute this enterprise. The course which the Carthaginian steered was perceived by Scipio from Tunis: he made all haste to his fleet, and got thither by land before the enemy arrived. To preserve his galleys, he drew them up as near to the shore as he could, and made a triple or quadruple defence before them of his ships of burden moored together, but with spaces between, for small vessels to launch out against the enemy. Over these spaces he laid bridges, for the convenience of sending assistance from one row of ships to another; and in the ships he placed a thousand chosen men, with great quantities of missive weapons. Had Hamilcar been expeditious, he might have destroyed all the Roman fleet, but it being night before he came up, he was obliged to lie by; so that Scipio had time sufficient to prepare for his reception. Next day the attack began: the Carthaginian broke the chain of ships in the first line, and took six of them: but he had not courage to pursue his advantage; he returned with his small prize to Carthage.

In the meantime, Masinissa and Lælius, with a third part of the Roman legions, were in pursuit of Syphax. In fifteen days they arrived in the heart of Numidia; and, when Masinissa had taken possession of his own kingdom, he carried the war into the dominions of his enemy. Syphax, with a numerous army, advanced confidently to meet him; but, in a general action

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Ref. J. C.  
Two hundred, two.

249th Consulship.

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 10.

Appian  
Punic.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 11. et  
seq.



Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.

249th Con-  
sulship.

which ensued, was defeated and made prisoner, together with one of his sons.

After this, the victorious Numidian, with the approbation of Lælius, who was to follow, by easy marches, hastened to appear before Cyrtha, the capital of Syphax's dominions, whom he took with him. On the appearance of their king in chains, those of the inhabitants who were upon the walls deserted them in a fright; others, to gain the favour of the conqueror, opened the gates to him. Quickening his horse, he rode directly to the palace to take possession of it. In the entrance of the portico stood Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax. When she saw Masinissa, judging by the richness of his armour, and other marks of distinction, that he was the king, she fell down at his feet, and said: "The gods, your valour, and your good fortune, have given you all power over us. But, if a captive woman may be allowed to supplicate the arbiter of her life and death, if she may be permitted to touch your knees and this victorious right hand, I beg and implore you, by the regal majesty—with which we also, it is not long since, were invested;—by the name of Numidian, common to you with Syphax; by the gods of this palace (may they receive you more auspiciously than they have sent Syphax hence!), to grant me this favour, that you yourself will determine my fate, and not abandon me to the pride and cruelty of any Roman. Were it only that I am the wife of Syphax, I

of return edit refer to the original text.



would rather be at the mercy of a Numidian, a native of Africa, as I am, than of an alien and a stranger. I need not say what a Carthaginian, what a daughter of Asdrubal has to fear from Roman enmity. If you can no other way save me from falling into their hands, do it by my death, I beseech you, I conjure you. Surpassingly beautiful was the suppliant, and in the richest bloom of life: she clasped the prince's hand, she embraced his knees; and her pleading, when she sued to him for a promise, that he would not give her up to the Romans, was more like the blandishments of love, than the prayer of wretchedness. The victor, melting not only to pity, but to love, gave her his right hand, the pledge of assured protection. Masinissa promised, without weighing the difficulty of performing; and, had he weighed it, he would still have promised. For, when he began to consider by what means he might be able to keep his word, Sophonisba being truly Scipio's captive, he took counsel only of his passion. He married her that very day; flattering himself, that neither Lælius nor Scipio could think of treating, as a captive, the wife of Masinissa. The ceremony was hardly over when Lælius arrived. Far from dissembling the displeasure this marriage gave him, he was, at first, going to snatch the queen from the arms of her husband, and send her away with the rest of the prisoners to Scipio; but being overcome at length by the king's entreaties, who begged him to refer the matter to

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred two.  
249th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hund-  
red, two  
249th Con-  
sulship.


the judgment of the proconsul, he forbore that violence, and took Masinissa with him to assist in the reduction of some towns which adhered to Syphax; while this unfortunate king, mad with rage at the success of his rival, was sent under a guard to Scipio's camp.

The whole army were much affected with the spectacle of king Syphax in chains, a prince, whose alliance had been so lately courted by two powerful republics. The general remembered the hospitable entertainment the Numidian had formerly given him at his court: and the same remembrance encouraged Syphax to speak with the more freedom to his conqueror. When Scipio asked him, what it was that could induce him, not only to reject the alliance of Rome, but, without provocation, to begin a war against her; "madness," answered Syphax. "But this madness did not then commence, when I took up arms against the Roman people; that was the end of it, not the beginning. Then it began, then I forgot all private ties and public leagues, when I married a Carthaginian woman. It was the nuptial torch that set my palace on fire. Sophonisba was the sorceress, who by her enchantments deprived me of my reason; nor did she ever rest till with her own hands she had armed me with those impious arms I have employed against my guest and my friend. But, in the midst of my adversity and ruin, I have this consolation left, that I see the pest, the fury, gone into the house of my most implacable enemy.



Masinissa will not be more prudent or more steady than Syphax: nay, he will be less upon his guard; for he is younger. This at least is sure; his marriage speaks more of folly and intemperance of passion than mine. Sophonisba will have all power over him; and it is in vain to hope she will ever be brought to favour the Roman cause; so deeply rooted, so immoveable is her affection to her country."

Though these words were dictated by the hatred of an enemy, and the rage of jealous love, yet they made a strong impression in the mind of the proconsul. Masinissa's precipitate marriage in the midst of arms, without consulting, or even waiting for Lælius, made the king's prediction but too credible: and such sallies of passion, says Livy, seemed the more inexcusable to Scipio, as he, during his command in Spain, had never suffered himself, though young, to be transported by the charms of any of his fair captives. While he was revolving in his thoughts this strange event, Lælius and Masinissa arrived. The proconsul received them both with equal marks of kindness; and having, in a crowded assembly of his officers, expatiated in their praise, he took Masinissa aside, and spoke to him in the following manner: "It was doubtless, Masinissa, some good qualities you saw in me, which inclined you, in Spain, to enter into friendship with me; and afterwards, in Africa, to commit yourself and your fortunes to my protection. Of all the virtues

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
DL.  
Ref. J. C.  
Two hundred two.  
  
249th Consulship.

App. de  
Bell. Punic.  
c. 15.



Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.

249th Con-  
sulship.

for which you think my friendship desirable, there is none in which I pride myself more than continence: and I wish, Masinissa, that you, to your other eminent virtues, would add this also. There is not, believe me, there is not so much danger, to our years, from armed enemies, as from the pleasures that on all sides surround us. He who has acquired the mastery over his appetites and passions, has made a nobler conquest, and gained greater glory, than we by our vanquishing king Syphax. The exploits of bravery which you have performed in my absence, I have just now publicly acknowledged, and shall remember: the rest I had rather you yourself should reflect upon, than that I, by the mention of it, should put you to the blush. Syphax was conquered and made prisoner, under the auspices of the people of Rome. He, therefore, his wife, his kingdom, his lands, his towns, all who inhabit them, all that belonged to Syphax, are become the property of the Roman people. Sophonisba, if she were not a Carthaginian, if her father did not command the army of our enemies, must, as well as her husband, be sent to Rome: it is the prerogative of the senate and people there, to determine the fate of a woman, who is charged with having seduced a king from our alliance, and hurried him to take arms against us. Masinissa, get the better of yourself. Beware of tarnishing, by one vice, the lustre of many virtues. Do not

lose the merit of so many services, by a single fault, to which the cause of it bears no proportion?"

Livy tells us, that this discourse brought blushes into the prince's cheeks, and drew tears from his eyes. When he had promised an absolute submission to the general's pleasure, and had begged that he might be permitted, as far as the situation of things would allow, to perform the rash promise he had given Sophonisba, of not delivering her into the power of any other person, he left Scipio's tent in confusion, and retired to his own. There shutting himself up, he spent some time alone in sighs and groans, so loud as to be heard by the soldiers without the pavilion. At length he called a trusty slave, who had charge of the poison, which (after the manner of kings) was kept ready against unforeseen adversities; and bid

It is somewhat strange, that Livy should make his divine Scipio preach such a grave lecture upon continence, when he had nothing in his heart but murder. The manifest aim of his ethics, as appears by the sequel, was to persuade the prince either to murder the woman he had just married, or to give her up to be murdered by the Romans. Had the Numidian married half the women of Cytha, he would probably have escaped the lecture, provided Sophonisba had not been of the number. But Scipio dreaded the power of the beautiful Carthaginian dame over her new husband.

Appian (differing from Livy) tells us that Scipio at first only desired Masinissa to deliver up Syphax's wife; that the prince refusing to comply, the general sharply forbade him to think of keeping by force what of right belonged to the Roman people; and having commanded him to give up the prey, added, that then, if he pleased, he might petition for it. *App. in Punic. l. 15.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.  
249th Con-  
sulship.



Year of  
ROMULE  
DL. 307  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred 605

249th Con-  
sulship.

him, when he had prepared a potion, carry it to Sophonisba, with this message: "Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the marriage engagement, the obligation of a husband to a wife; but since to do this is denied him by those who have the power to hinder it, he now performs his other promise, that she should not be delivered up alive to the Romans. Sophonisba, mindful of her father, her country, and the two kings, whose wife she has been, will consult her own honour." When the minister of death came to the queen, and with the message presented her the poison: "I accept," said she, "this marriage-gift; nor is it unwelcome, if my husband could indeed do nothing kinder for his wife. This however tell him, that I should have died with more honour, if I had not married at my funeral." She spoke these words with a resolute countenance, took the cup with a steady hand, and drank it off. The news being brought to Scipio, he sent for the Numidian prince; and, lest his distempered mind should carry him to some action yet more desperate, discoursed to him in a friendly manner; now endeavouring to console him; then gently reproving him, for having expiated one act of temerity by another, and given a more tragical conclusion to the affair than was necessary. Next day the proconsul assembled the soldiers, mounted his tribunal, and, before them all, addressing himself to Masinissa, styled him king; and, when he had been lavish in his praise, presented him with a crown and cup of



gold; a curule chair, an ivory sceptre, an embroidered robe, and a tunic wrought with palm-branches. And these presents he enhanced, by saying, that, "in a TRIUMPH, than which nothing among the Romans was more magnificent, the triumphant victors had no statelier ornaments; and that Masinissa was the only foreigner the Roman people thought worthy of them." The king's affliction was soothed by these honours, and his mind raised from its depression, to the hope of possessing all Numidia.

The season of the year being far advanced, Scipio, when he had sent Lælius, with Syphax, and the rest of the Numidian captives, to Rome, returned to his old post near Tunis. Carthage, greatly alarmed at the neighbourhood of the Roman army, and the loss she had suffered by the captivity of Syphax, began now to think of changing her measures, and of endeavouring to gain time, by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till Hannibal and Mago should arrive from Italy. The senate despatched to the proconsul thirty of its principal members; who cast themselves at his feet, threw the whole blame of the war upon the ambition of Hannibal, implored the clemency of the conqueror, and offered to accept any terms he should impose. Scipio haughtily answered, "That his intention in coming into Africa was not to make peace with the Carthaginians, but to conquer them, which he had now in a manner done." He added; "Yet to convince the world that Rome can put

Year of  
R. O. M. E  
DL. JC  
Bef. J. C.  
and one  
dred two.

249th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 16.

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.

249th Con-  
sulship.

an end to wars, as well as begin them with justice, I shall not refuse you a peace on these conditions :

“ You shall restore all prisoners, deserters, and fugitive slaves ;

“ Withdraw your troops from Italy and Cisalpine Gaul ;

“ Make an absolute cession of Spain to us ;

“ Yield up to us all the islands between Italy and Africa ;

“ Give us all your long ships, except twenty.

“ Furnish my army with five hundred thousand modii of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley ;

“ And pay us 5000 talents.

“ I allow you three days to consider of these conditions ; and if in that time you agree to them, you shall have a truce, till the return of the ambassadors, whom you shall send to Rome, to conclude a peace there.”

As the business of the Carthaginians was only to gain time, they made no great difficulty of consenting to Scipio's demands ; and, the better to impose upon him, they sent a small number of Roman captives, and deserters, to Rome, with their ambassadors.

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 17.

In the meantime, Lælius arrived at Rome, with Syphax, and the Numidian nobles taken in war. The conscript fathers, upon his report of the wonderful success of the Roman arms, decreed a four days' supplication to the gods. As to Syphax, they ordered that he should be confined a prisoner at Alba, (in the country of



the Marsi : they confirmed to Masinissa the title of king, which Scipio had given him ; and sent him new presents in the name of the republic.

The campaign in Bruttium seems to have produced no remarkable action this summer. Several towns in that country surrendered to the consul Servilius Scipio, who is also said to have fought a battle with Hannibal, the success uncertain. The other consul, Servilius Geminus, did nothing memorable either in Hetruria or Gaul, except that he recovered his father and uncle from the captivity in which they had been, for sixteen years, among the Boii. He entered Rome, with one of them on his right hand, and the other on his left. But he was forced to petition the people to grant a decree, indemnifying him for having, contrary to law, executed the offices of tribune of the commons and plebeian ædile, in the lifetime of his father, who had been a curule magistrate. His plea was, that he then knew not whether his father were alive or dead ; and the people allowed it to be good.

Mago fell down upon Insubria, and fought a battle with two Roman armies, under the conduct of the proconsul Corn. Cethegus and the prætor Quintilius Varus. The victory was obstinately disputed, till the Carthaginian general, by a wound which he received, was constrained to yield the day to the Romans. He decamped the night following, and retired into Liguria. Hither came messengers from the

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.

249th Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 18, 19.



Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.  
249th Con-  
sulship.

senate of Carthage, with orders to him to return to Africa as soon as possible. Embarking all his troops, both Ligurian and Spanish, he set sail immediately. Scarce had he doubled the island of Sardinia when he died of his wound; and a storm dispersing the fleet, many of the ships were taken by the Romans.

When Hannibal received the same orders as his brother, he was scarce able to restrain his tears. "Now," said he, "the senate openly and expressly recal me; but they have been dragging me away ever since they refused to send me supplies of men and money. The Romans, whom I have so often routed, have not vanquished Hannibal. It is the Carthaginian senate that, by detraction and envy, have overcome me<sup>3</sup>. Nor will Scipio exult more at my leaving Italy, than Hanno; who, since he can no other way destroy my family, is resolved to overwhelm it with the ruins of his country." However, as he had foreseen what now happened, he had prepared his fleet for a voyage. Sending away the useless part of his soldiery into the towns of Bruttium, under pretence of guarding them, he embarked all the strength of his army for Africa<sup>4</sup>. No man ever

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch imputes this to the good fortune which constantly attended Rome. It was this good fortune (says he) which poured forth Hannibal like water, and wasted him in Italy, while his countrymen, through envy and civil discord, refused to send him supplies. *Plut. de Fortun. Roman.* S. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Livy reports, that Hannibal massacred, in the temple of Juno Lacinia, some of the Italians, who had fled thither for refuge, after refusing to follow him into Africa.

went into banishment from his own country, with greater reluctance than Hannibal left the country of his enemies. When he was out at sea, he often looked back on the coast, accusing gods and men, and himself (says Livy) for being disappointed of his expected conquest.

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.  
249th Con-  
sulship.

The joy at Rome, on the news of his departure, was great, but not universal. Some of the fathers thought it a dishonour to the Roman name, that Hannibal was suffered to leave Italy with all his army, as quietly as if he had been setting out from his own country. They also feared the difficulties which Scipio would have to struggle with; and Fabius increased their terror, by exclaiming, "that the republic was never in a more deplorable state." Others confided in the abilities of the proconsul, and thought it the greatest of all advantages, to see Italy rid of her most dangerous and most implacable enemy: and the senate, coming into this sentiment, directed that public thanksgivings should be offered to the gods during five days.

Plut. Life  
of Fabius.

Lælius, whom the republic had just chosen quæstor to Scipio's army, in the room of Cato, was upon his way to re-embark for Africa, when he received an order to return to Rome: for the ambassadors from Carthage being arrived, the conscript fathers thought it proper to have him present at so important a negotiation. The Carthaginians had their audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona, without the walls of Rome. They spoke in much the same strain

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.

249th Con-  
sulship.

as before to Scipio, throwing all the blame of the war upon Hannibal; and, in conclusion, desired, “that the articles agreed on between Rome and Carthage, in the time of C. Lutatius, (the close of the first Punic war) might continue in full force, and be the foundation of a lasting peace.” Upon this, some of the elder senators, who observed that these African ambassadors were young men, examined them concerning the expedients employed to put an end to that war: and the latter not being able to give any tolerable account of the times of Lutatius, the fathers began to suspect that Carthage was not sincere in the present affair. When they came to vote, (after the ambassadors had withdrawn) some were against coming to any determination without one of the consuls, who were both absent; others advised the consulting Scipio, previously to any conclusion; and others, fully persuaded that Carthage was dissembling, were for commanding the ambassadors immediately out of Italy, as so many spies, and for directing Scipio to prosecute the war with vigour. Lælius joined in this opinion; and some writers say that it prevailed: but others, with more probability, affirm, that the peace was accepted on the foot upon which Scipio had proposed it in Africa.

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 23.  
Polyb. B.  
15. c. 1.

Whilst this affair employed the senate, Hannibal was making the best of his way to Carthage. The consul Servilius Cæpio, resolving to follow him, left his province, and went into Sicily, to prepare for an expedition into Africa;



but his design did not please the conscript fathers: they thought he intended to rob Scipio of the honour of concluding the peace. A dictator was therefore created, merely that there might be a magistrate in the republic, who should have an undisputed authority to recall Servilius. The consul being recalled, obeyed, and returned to Rome.

About this time died, in a very advanced age, the famous Q. Fabius Cunctator<sup>5</sup>. He was certainly, says Livy, worthy of the name of Maximus which he bore; and his glory equalled that of any of his ancestors. Prudence and circumspection were what distinguished him; not remarkable activity or an enterprising genius. But it is a question whether his cunctation was the effect of his temper, or owing to the nature of the war he had to conduct. Be that as it will, his wise management, in a dangerous conjuncture, saved his country from ruin<sup>6</sup>: and the Roman people, sensible of their obligation to him, greatly honoured him while living; and, when he died, laid a tax upon themselves to defray the expenses of his funeral.

While the truce in Africa still subsisted, and before the ambassadors were yet returned, an

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred two.

249th Consulship.

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 24.

<sup>5</sup> According to Val. Max. (B. 8. c. 13. s. 3.) Fabius was near a hundred years old when he died. If this were true, he must have been about eighty-six when he conducted the war against Hannibal, and about eighty-nine in his last consulship.

<sup>6</sup> Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred two.

249th Con-  
sulship.

Polyb. B.  
15. c. 1.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 25.

accident discovered the fraudulent designs of the Carthaginians. Scipio had thought it necessary to have a strong sea-armament, in order to terrify the enemy, and to remove the necessity of protecting his fleet, as formerly, with his land army; and he had therefore sent for a reinforcement of ships, both from Sicily and Sardinia. The squadron from Sardinia arrived safe, but that from Sicily was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the vessels being driven near the port of Carthage, the Carthaginians seized and plundered them. Scipio, highly incensed at this proceeding, despatched M. Bæbius, with two other officers, to Carthage, to complain of the injustice, and demand satisfaction. These envoys hardly escaped the fury of the populace: and even the senate, being bent on war, agreed to send them back without an answer; such dependence they had on Hannibal, who was daily expected: nay, they gave orders (as some say) that the two galleys, appointed by them to convoy the quinqueremis, on which the envoys were embarked, should leave it at a certain time; and that some ships, kept in readiness for that purpose, should attack and sink it. The quinqueremis was accordingly deserted by her convoy, near the mouth of the river Bagrada, and being soon after attacked by three Carthaginian galleys, was forced to run aground on the strand; but the envoys escaped to the Roman camp.

The general so impatiently expected by the African republic at length drew near the coast.

To discover the country, he ordered a sailor to the mast-top; who being asked, what he saw, answered, "the ruins of a tomb, upon an eminence." Hannibal, disliking the omen, sailed on; and landed his army at Little Leptis, a city between Susa and Adrumetum.

Year of  
R O M E  
DL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred two.  
249th Consulship.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

## SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

*An interview between Hannibal and Scipio.*

*The battle of Zama.*

*Scipio enters into a treaty of peace with the Carthaginians, which is ratified the year following.*

TIB. CLAUDIUS NERO and M. Servilius Pulex being chosen consuls at Rome for the new year, it fell by lot to Servilius to conduct the army in Hetruria, and to Claudius to command the fleet in Africa: but the latter, by a decree of both senate and people, was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to Scipio.

Hannibal, having learned, soon after his landing, that hostilities were renewed, took measures to strengthen his army. Being in great want of horse, he sent to Tychæus, a friend of Syphax, and reputed to have the best in Africa; and of him obtained a body of two thousand Numidian cavalry. On the other hand, Scipio pursued the war with an uncommon fury, kindled by the perfidiousness of the

Year of  
R O M E  
DLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred one.  
250th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 27.

Polyb. B.  
25. c. 3.  
App. in  
Punic.  
Polyb. B.  
25. c. 3, 4.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred one.

250th Con-  
sulship.

Carthaginians. He took towns, not by capitulation, but assault, put the garrisons to the sword, and made all the inhabitants pass under the yoke. However, in the midst of his resentment, he did not forget the laws of nations. Bæbius, who had been so ill treated, when sent on an embassy to Carthage, had since arrested the Carthaginian ambassadors, on their arrival from Italy, in the port where the Roman fleet lay; and he thought that the injury he had suffered would be retaliated upon them by Scipio. But the proconsul did not consider so much what Carthage deserved, as what became a Roman. He commanded that the ambassadors should be well treated, and dismissed. As he continued, nevertheless, to make dreadful havoc in the Carthaginian territory, the senate despatched orders to their general to advance and give him battle. Hannibal answered, that he would take the first opportunity that offered; and soon after, leaving his post at Adrumetum, drew near to Zama, a town in Numidia Propria, five days' journey south-west of Carthage. From hence he sent out spies, to discover the situation and strength of the Romans. These spies were apprehended: but though it was then customary in all nations to put such men to death, Scipio gave direction to lead one of them into all the quarters of the camp, and show him every thing he came to learn; which done, dismissing both him and his companions, he bad them go to their general, and gave him the account he

expected from them. Hannibal is said to have been struck with this magnanimity and air of confidence, and to have been thereby induced to ask an interview with the proconsul, in order to a peace. Scipio consented, and, to meet him, advanced as far as Nadagara, a town on the confines of Numidia. The Carthaginian came and encamped within four miles of the Romans, not far from Zama<sup>1</sup>.

There was between the two camps a large plain, entirely open, and where no ambush could be laid. This place being therefore chosen for

Year of  
R O M E  
DLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred one.  
250th Con-  
sulship.

<sup>1</sup> Appian tells us, that before this conference, Hannibal, being in great want of provisions, sent to Masinissa, desiring he would use his endeavours with Scipio to obtain a peace for the Carthaginians. Scipio consented to renew the former treaty, upon condition restitution was made of the ships, men, and effects of his dispersed fleet, which had been seized, and that Carthage should pay a thousand talents as a fine. Hannibal accepted these terms, and the senate of Carthage likewise agreed to them, but the populace would not give their consent. They were jealous of their general and the nobles, who they thought were desirous of making a peace advantageous to Rome, that by her means they might govern the more despotically at home. And the people were so full of these imaginations, that having got notice at this time, that Asdrubal, whom they had suspected of the same design, was returned to the city, they went in a tumultuous manner to seek him, in order to put him to death. He had fled to his father's tomb, and had there ended his days by poison. But the rage of the mutineers did not cease at the sight of his dead body. They dragged it out of the tomb, cut off the head, fixed it on a lance, and carried it through the streets of Carthage. *App. Punic. c. 20.*

Thus far Appian; but neither Livy nor Polybius mention any thing of all this, and some parts of the story are inconsistent with what those authors relate.

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the conference, the two generals rode thither, escorted by an equal number of guards; from whom separating, and each attended only by an interpreter, they met in the midway. Both remained for a while silent, viewing each other with mutual admiration. Hannibal at length spoke thus :

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 30.  
Polyb. B.  
15. c. 6.

“ Since fate has so ordained it, that I, who began the war, and who have been so often on the point of ending it by a complete conquest, should now come, of my own motion, to ask a peace, I am glad that it is of you, Scipio, I have the fortune to ask it. Nor will this be among the least of your glories, that Hannibal, victorious over so many Roman generals, submitted at last to you.

“ I could wish, that our fathers and we had confined our ambition within the limits which nature seemed to have prescribed to it; the shores of Africa, and the shores of Italy. The gods did not give us that mind. On both sides we have been so eager after foreign possessions, as to put our own to the hazard of war. Rome and Carthage have had, each, in her turn, the enemy at her gates. But since errors past may be more easily blamed than corrected, let it now be the work of you and me, to put an end, if possible, to the obstinate contention. For my own part, my years, and the experience I have had of the instability of fortune, incline me to leave nothing to her determination which reason can decide. But much I fear, Scipio, that your youth, your want of the like experience, your uninterrupted suc-



cess, may render you averse from the thoughts of peace. He whom Fortune has never failed, rarely reflects upon her inconstancy. Yet, without recurring to former examples, my own may appear perhaps suffice to teach you moderation. I am that same Hannibal who, after my victory at Cannæ, became master of the greatest part of your country, and deliberated with myself what fate I should decree to Italy and to Rome. And now—see the change! Here, in Africa, I am come to treat with a Roman, for my own preservation and my country's. Such are the sports of Fortune. Is she then to be trusted, because she smiles? An advantageous peace is preferable to the hope of victory. The one is in your own power, the other at the pleasure of the gods. Should you prove victorious, it would add little to your own glory, or the glory of your country; if vanquished, you lose in one hour all the honour and reputation you have been so many years acquiring. But what is my aim in all this? That you should content yourself with our cession of Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and all the islands between Italy and Africa. A peace on these conditions will, in my opinion, not only secure the future tranquillity of Carthage, but be sufficiently glorious for you, and for the Roman name. And do not tell me, that some of our citizens dealt fraudulently with you in the late treaty. It is I, Hannibal, that now ask a peace: I ask it, because I think it expedient for my country;

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and thinking it expedient, I will inviolably maintain it."

SCIPIO answered: " I knew very well, Hannibal, that it was the hope of your return which emboldened the Carthaginians to break the truce with us, and to lay aside all thoughts of a peace, when it was just upon the point of being concluded; and your present proposal is a proof of it. You retrench from their concessions every thing but what we are, and have been long possessed of. But as it is your care, that your fellow-citizens should have the obligation to you of being eased from a great part of their burden, so it ought to be mine, that they draw no advantage from their perfidiousness.

" Nobody is more sensible than I am of the weakness of man, and the power of fortune, and that whatever we enterprise is subject to a thousand chances. If, before the Romans passed into Africa, you had, of your own accord, quitted Italy, and made the offers you now make, I believe they would not have been rejected. But as you have been forced out of Italy, and we are masters here of the open country, the situation of things is much altered. And, what is chiefly to be considered, the Carthaginians by the late treaty, which we entered into at their request, were, over and above what you offer, to have delivered up their ships of war, restored to us our prisoners without ransom, paid us five thousand talents, and to have given hostages for the performance of all. The se-

nate accepted these conditions, but Carthage failed on her part; Carthage deceived us. What then is to be done? Are the Carthaginians to be released from the most important articles of the treaty, as a reward of their breach of faith? No, certainly. If, to the conditions before agreed upon, you had added some new article to our advantage, there would have been matter of reference to the Roman people; but when, instead of adding, you retrench, there is no room for deliberation. The Carthaginians therefore must submit to us at discretion, or must vanquish us in battle<sup>2</sup>."

The conference hereupon broke off, the two generals returned each to his camp, and bid their soldiers prepare for battle; a battle wherein the Carthaginians were to fight for their own preservation and the dominion of Africa; and the Romans for the empire of the whole world<sup>3</sup>.

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Polyb. B.  
15. c. 9. et  
seq.

\* According to Livy, Scipio proposed to advise with his council about granting peace, provided the Carthaginians would, besides fulfilling the conditions of the late treaty, agree to pay a fine for having seized the Roman ships, and violated their ambassadors, during the truce. The account in the text is taken from Polybius, who, being personally acquainted with Masinissa, and intimate with the younger Scipio, and his friend Lælius, is more to be depended on than any other writer on this subject.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius adds [B. 15. c. 11.] that, whichever party should prove victorious in this battle, would not only become masters of Africa and Europe, but of all the rest of the known world. Livy [B. 30. c. 32.] is of the same opinion. This however could hardly be true of the Carthaginians; for had they proved victorious at Zama, they would not have been in so flourishing a condition, as in the beginning of the war; nor have had so good a pro-



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Early next morning Scipio led his troops into the plain, and drew them up after the Roman manner, except that he placed the cohorts of the principes directly behind those of the hastati, so as to leave sufficient space for the enemy's elephants to pass through from front to rear. C. Lælius was posted on the left wing with the Italian horse, and Masinissa, with his Numidians, on the right. The intervals of the first line Scipio filled up with his velites, or light-armed troops, ordering them, upon a signal given, to begin the battle, and, in case they were repulsed, or broke by the elephants, to run back through the lanes before mentioned, and continue on their flight till they were got behind the triarii. Those that were wounded, or in danger of being overtaken, were to turn off to the right and left, through the spaces

spect of conquering the Romans as just after the battle of Cannæ, when Hannibal was master of the greater part of Italy. The Carthaginians were now driven out of Spain, had sustained infinite losses, and been at a vast expense during the course of a seventeen years war. On the other hand, Rome had recovered the possession of all Italy, had powerful armies on foot there, and strong fleets at sea; so that had Scipio been defeated, she could easily transport more forces into Africa. And this suggests a reason why Hannibal did not decline a battle with the Romans, and endeavour to consume their strength without fighting. He doubtless foresaw, that they would daily grow stronger by continual supplies of men and money from Italy. Add to this, that the army which Hannibal now commanded seems to have been the last resource of Carthage. The greater part of it had been raised with difficulty, and it would be no easy matter to find pay and provisions for such numerous forces, during any considerable time, the treasury being exhausted, and the country ruined.

between the lines, and that way escape to the rear.

The army thus drawn up, Scipio went from rank to rank, urging his soldiers to consider the consequences of a defeat, and the rewards of victory : on the one hand, certain death or slavery, (for they had no town in Africa strong enough to protect them), on the other, not only a lasting superiority over Carthage, but the empire of the rest of the world.

Hannibal ranged all his elephants, to the number of above eighty, in one front. Behind these he placed his mercenaries, consisting of twelve thousand men, Ligurians, Gauls, Balears, and Mauritanians.

The new levies of Carthaginians, and other Africans, together with four thousand Macedonians, under a general named Sopater, composed the second line. And in the rear of all, at the distance of about a furlong, he posted his Italian troops, in whom he chiefly confided. The Carthaginian horse formed his right wing, the Numidians his left <sup>4</sup>.

He ordered the several leaders to exhort their troops, not to be discouraged by their own

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<sup>4</sup> Neither Polybius nor Livy mention the number of forces Hannibal and Scipio had at Zama. Appian [in Punic. c. 22.] tells us, that Hannibal had near fifty thousand men in the field, and Scipio twenty-three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred Italian horse, six hundred Numidian horse, under one Lacumaces, and a great body of cavalry, commanded by Masinissa. But Appian gives a very romantic account of this battle, and differs widely from Polybius and Livy.

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dred one.

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weakness, but to place the hope of victory in him and his Italian army; and particularly directed the captains of the Carthaginians to represent to them what would be the fate of their wives and children, if the event of this battle should not prove successful. The general himself, walking through the ranks of his Italian troops, called upon them to be mindful of the seventeen campaigns, in which they had been fellow-soldiers with him; and of that constant series of victories, by which they had extinguished in the Romans all hope of ever being conquerors. He urged them to remember, above all, the battles of the Trebia, Thrasymentus, and Cannæ; with any of which the approaching battle was in no wise to be compared, either with respect to the bravery, or the number of the enemies. “The Romans were yet unfoiled, and in the height of their strength when you first met them in the field; nevertheless you vanquished them. The soldiers now before us are either the children of the vanquished, or the remains of those whom you have often put to flight in Italy. Maintain therefore your general’s glory and your own, and establish to yourselves the name of *invincible*, by which you are become famous throughout the world.”

When the Numidians of the two armies had skirmished a while, Hannibal ordered the managers of the elephants to drive them upon the enemy. Some of the beasts, frightened at the noise of the trumpets and other instruments of



war, which sounded on all sides, immediately ran back amongst the Numidians of the Carthaginian left wing, and put them into confusion, which Masinissa taking advantage of, entirely routed them. Great destruction was made of the velites by the rest of the elephants, till these also being terrified, some of them ran through the void spaces of the Roman army, which Scipio had left for that purpose; others, falling in among the cavalry of the enemy's right wing, gave Lælius the same opportunity against the Carthaginian horse, as had been given to Masinissa against the Numidian, and of which the Roman did not fail to make the same use. After this the infantry of the foremost lines joined battle. Hannibal's mercenaries had the advantage in the beginning of the conflict; but the Roman hastati followed, and encouraged by the principes, who exhorted them to fight manfully, and showed themselves ready to assist them, bravely sustained the attack, and at length gained ground upon the enemy. The mercenaries, not being seasonably supported by their second line, and therefore thinking themselves betrayed, they in their retreat fell furiously upon the Africans, so that these, the hastati coming up, were obliged to fight for some time both against their own mercenaries and the enemy. When the two Carthaginian lines had ceased their mutual rage, they joined their strength; and, though now but a mere throng of men, broke the hastati:

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but then the principes advancing to the assistance of the latter, restored the battle; and most of the Africans and mercenaries were here cut off. Hannibal did not advance to their relief, the Roman triarii not having yet engaged, and the principes being still in good order: and lest the routed Africans and mercenaries should break the ranks of his Italian soldiers, he commanded these to present their spears at those who fled to them for protection, which obliged the runaways to move off to the right and left.

The ground, over which the Romans must march before they could attack Hannibal, being strewn with heaps of dead bodies and weapons, and being slippery with blood, Scipio feared that the order of his battalions would be broke, should he pass it hastily. To avoid this mischief, he commanded the hastati to give over the pursuit, and halt where they were, opposite to the enemies' centre: after which, having sent all his wounded to the rear, he advanced leisurely with the principes and triarii, and placed them on the wings of the hastati. Then followed a sharp engagement, in which victory was long and eagerly disputed. It would seem, that the Romans, though superior in number, were once upon the point of losing the day; for Polybius tells us, that Masinissa and Lælius came very seasonably, and as if sent from heaven, to their assistance. These generals, being returned from the pursuit of the cavalry, fell

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 34.  
Polyb. B.  
15. c. 14.

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suddenly upon the rear of Hannibal's men, most of whom were cut off in their ranks ; and of those that fled, very few escaped the horse, the country all around being a plain.

There died of the Carthaginians in the fight about twenty thousand, and almost the like number were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the Romans amounted to about two thousand men. Hannibal escaped with a few horse to Adrumetum, having performed every thing in the engagement which could be expected from a great general. His army (says Polybius) could not have been more skilfully drawn up. For as the order of the Roman battalions makes it extremely difficult to break them, the Carthaginian wisely placed his elephants in the front, that they might put the enemy in confusion, before the armies should engage. In his first line he placed the mercenaries, men bold and active, but not well disciplined, that by their impetuosity he might give a check to the ardour of the Romans. The Africans and Carthaginians, whose courage he doubted, he posted in the middle between the mercenaries and his Italian soldiers, that they might be forced to fight, or, at least, that the Romans, by slaughtering them, might fatigue themselves, and blunt their weapons. Last of all, he drew up the troops he had disciplined himself, and in whom he chiefly confided, at a good distance from his second line, that they might not be broken by the rout of the Africans and mercenaries; and kept them in reserve

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Two hun-  
dred one.

250th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 35.

for a vigorous attack upon a tired and weakened enemy<sup>5</sup>.

The Carthaginian general was soon called from Adrumetum to Carthage, to assist the tottering republic with his counsels. He declared, "that she had no resource but in a peace;" and this, from the mouth of the warlike Hannibal, was decisive. The Carthaginians, therefore, prepared to make new supplications to the conqueror; whilst he, on the other hand, was considering how to make the best advantage of his victory. And having received a considerable reinforcement to his fleet, he went on board it, in order to appear before Carthage, giving instructions to Cn. Octavius to march their legions towards the same city. His intention was not to besiege it, but only to strike terror, and make the Carthaginians more eager for a peace; and the method he took had the desired effect. A galley adorned with olive-branches came out to him, with twelve

<sup>5</sup> Livy reports [B. 30. c. 36.] that a few days after the battle of Zama, Vermina, the son of Syphax, came to the assistance of the Carthaginians, with an army of more horse than foot: that Scipio sent a part of his infantry and all the cavalry to encounter the Numidian: and that Vermina was routed, fifteen thousand of his men slain, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. This story is not very probable, for Hannibal, who was weak in cavalry, would doubtless have deferred fighting, had he known any thing of this approaching reinforcement, which he could not well be ignorant of, if it was within a few days march of him. Polybius, who, had there been any ground for this story, would probably have mentioned it, says nothing of Vermina.

deputies, who spared neither submissions, nor prostrations, nor promises. Scipio would give no answer, but that they should meet him at Tunis. He ordered his legions thither, sailed back with his fleet to Utica, and from thence went to Tunis by land. Thirty of the Carthaginian nobles repaired to him, and humbly sued for peace. Scipio seemed at first to neglect their submissions; but at the bottom was as fond of concluding a treaty as they: for he knew that the consul Nero was equipping a fleet, with all expedition, to come into Africa, and rob him of the glory of finishing the war. The conditions on which he insisted with the Carthaginians were as follow:

“We permit the Carthaginians to live according to their own laws and customs; and grant them all the cities and provinces they had in Africa, before the war. The Romans shall immediately abstain from plundering them.

“Carthage shall deliver up to the Romans all their deserters, fugitive slaves, and prisoners of war;

“Surrender to Scipio all her ships of war, except ten triremes, and all her elephants trained up for war; and she shall not hereafter tame any more of these animals;

“Enter into no war, either in Africa, or out of Africa, without the consent of the Roman people;

“Restore to Masinissa all that she has usurped from him, or his ancestors, and shall make an alliance with him;

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Polyb. B.  
15. c. 18.  
Liv. B. 30.  
c. 37.

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dred one.

250th Con-  
sulship.

\* One mil-  
lion nine  
hundred  
thirty-se-  
ven thou-  
sand five  
hundred  
pounds.

“ Supply the Roman legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors whom she shall send to Rome, to have the peace ratified there ;

“ Pay to the Romans, in the space of fifty years, ten thousand talents\* of silver, at equal payments ;

“ Put into Scipio’s hands a hundred such hostages as he shall choose ; the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen, nor the oldest above thirty years of age.

“ Neither the peace, nor even a truce, shall take place, till the Carthaginians have restored to the Romans the ships and effects taken from them during the former truce.”

These were hard conditions ; and upon the return and report of the ambassadors, Gisco, a man of distinction in the republic, endeavoured in an assembly of the people to dissuade them from complying. Hannibal, fearing the influence his harangue might have, mounted the rostra, and drove the orator from it. And, perceiving that the people were angry at this his strange procedure, he thus addressed himself to them : “ I was but nine years old when I went from this place, and have now spent six and thirty years in arms. In that time I have learned tolerably well the art of war. It is your business now to teach me the laws, customs, and civilities, which ought to be observed in your assemblies.” After this apology, he made a long discourse on the necessity of concluding the treaty, though the conditions of it were



heavy. The assembly acquiesced in the opinion of a general whose inclination to arms, and whose hatred to Rome, they knew, would never have suffered him to think of peace, had he retained the least hope of success in war<sup>6</sup>.

In pursuance of his advice, deputies were sent to Scipio, who, to the articles above mentioned, added this, "That, till the conclusion of the treaty, the Carthaginians should send no embassy to any state but the Roman; and that they should give him an account of all embassies that came to them from abroad." Every thing being agreed on, Carthage sent ambassadors to Rome, to get the peace confirmed there; and the proconsul, to facilitate the negotiation, appointed three officers, of whom one was his brother Lucius Scipio, to accompany them.

The consul Nero, who, on the renewal of hostilities in Africa, had, with the consent of the senate, prepared a fleet in order to pass into that country, was long detained, by bad weather, on the coast of Italy, and about Corsica and Sardinia. Afterwards, a storm dispersed his ships near Sicily, and shattered

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Livy, B. 30.  
c. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Some authors say, that the Carthaginian general fled from the battle of Zama to the sea-coast, where, getting immediately on board a ship, he sailed into Asia to Antiochus: that Scipio demanded him of the Carthaginians, and was answered, he had left Africa. But others, better informed, tell us, that he continued some time in his own country, and was afterwards honoured with the chief magistracy in his republic.

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dred.

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sulship.

many of them ; and while they were refitting his consulship expired.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Ælius Pætus being chosen consuls, the senate refused to determine any thing concerning their provinces, till the Carthaginian ambassadors (now arrived at Rome) were first heard. But Lentulus, ambitious of the honour of finishing the war with Carthage, declared that he would suffer no affair to be brought before the conscript fathers till they had decreed Africa for his province : his colleague (a wise and modest man) declined any competition with Scipio. After the matter had been warmly debated in the *comitia*, the people referred it to the conscript fathers ; who decreed, that the consul to whom the fleet should fall by lot, should sail with it to Sicily, and from thence, in case of war, to Africa ; but that Scipio should have the sole conduct of the land forces there : and, in case of peace, that the Roman people should determine whether the consul or Scipio should conclude it, and who should lead back the victorious army.

Liv. B. 30.  
c. 42.

After this, the senate gave audience to the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were all men of the first rank in their country : Asdrubal (surnamed Hædus) was the chief of them ; and as he had always opposed the Barchine faction and the rupture with Rome, he was the more favourably heard. In his speech, he cast the blame of the late war on the family of Hamilcar : some things laid to the charge of the Car-

thaginians he endeavoured to excuse; others he confessed, lest by denying what was evident, he should make it more difficult to obtain pardon: and when he had flattered the Romans on their wonted moderation in prosperity, he concluded with exhorting them to preserve this character by their lenity to Carthage. The speeches of his colleagues turned chiefly on the deplorable condition to which their country was reduced. When they had ended, one of the senators asked them, "What gods will you invoke to witness the sincerity of your oaths?" Asdrubal immediately answered, "the same who have so severely punished us for the breach of oaths."

In the debate which followed, it was urged, in favour of the peace, that Scipio, who best knew the state of affairs in Africa, had given his opinion for it; that the Romans would have nothing to fear from Carthage for the future, since it would be easy to keep her low; that she would be left, by the articles of the treaty, unarmed amidst many nations greatly incensed against her on account of the slavery she had long kept them under; and would be narrowly watched by Masinissa; that to raze the city would bring upon the Romans the hatred of all the world; and to give up the dominions of Carthage to Masinissa would make him too powerful. P. Cornelius Lentulus, a relation of the consul, opposed this opinion, and maintained, that such had been the cruelty and faithlessness of the Carthaginians, that to destroy

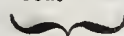
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Appian in  
Punic. p. 31.



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sulship.

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 43.

them, would be to do an act agreeable both to gods and men. The senate however inclined to peace; but the consul Lentulus interposed his authority, and forbad the decree to be passed. Hereupon two tribunes of the commons laid the affair before the people. The *comitia* empowered the senate to grant a peace to Carthage, and appointed Scipio to negotiate the treaty, and bring home the troops. The fathers approving the plan of the peace, sent, in company with the Carthaginian ambassadors, ten deputies to assist Scipio in settling affairs in Africa.

The Carthaginians first delivered up all the deserters, and prisoners of war, (amounting to 4000 men) and elephants. The Latine deserters were, by Scipio's order, beheaded; the Roman crucified. Some of the elephants he sent to Rome, and gave the rest to Masinissa. Then the Carthaginian galleys and small ships, (except ten triremes) to the number of 500 sail, were given up to the proconsul, who burned them at sea, within sight of Carthage. The only thing which remained, was the first payment of the tribute that was to be annual during fifty years. And now the covetous temper of these trading men remarkably showed itself. When a tax was proposed for raising the necessary sum, they all burst into tears, except Hannibal, who at their weeping burst into laughter. This gave great offence; and Asdrubal Hædus reproved him for it. "What! does it become you to laugh? You, to insult

us on the miseries you have brought upon us?" To which Hannibal made this answer: "Could you look into my heart you would see, that my laughter, far from being the effect of mirth, proceeds from a mind almost distempered with grief: neither is it so unseasonable and absurd as your tears. Then you should have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burned, and war forbidden us, even in Africa. That was the wound by which we fell. Do not flatter yourselves, that the Romans have consulted your quiet. No great city can be long in tranquillity. If it has not war abroad it will find enemies at home. But it seems we are touched with public calamities only so far as they affect our private fortunes, and the loss of our money is the chief thing we regret. When you saw Carthage disarmed, and, amidst so many armed nations, exposed naked and defenceless, none of you dropped a tear; but when a little money is to be paid, you weep and mourn, as if our country was going to its burial. You may quickly find (I fear it much) that these tears have been shed for the least of your misfortunes."

Scipio, before his departure from Africa, with the consent of the ten commissioners, settled Masinissa in the possession not only of his hereditary dominions, but of all the places conquered from Syphax; which possession was afterwards confirmed by the senate.

On the proconsul's return to Italy, both senate and people unanimously concurred in

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Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred.

251st Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 30.  
c. 45.

decreeing him a triumph<sup>7</sup>; and the show was more magnificent than any that had been yet seen at Rome.

He is said to have been the first Roman general, that, for having conquered a country, was called after its name: through the esteem of his soldiers, the favour of the people, or the flattery of his friends, (it is uncertain which) he acquired the surname of AFRICANUS.

<sup>7</sup> According to Polybius, Syphax led in chains was one of the ornaments of Scipio's triumph; but Livy tells us, that the king died before Scipio made his triumphal procession.



THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

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BOOK V.

From the End of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, in the Year of Rome 552, to the End of the THIRD, in 607, when Carthage was destroyed.

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CHAP. I.

*The occasion and commencement of the war with king Philip of Macedon.*

*Philip makes a fruitless attempt upon Athens: the Achæans reject his offers of assistance against the tyrant of Lacedæmon.*

ROME, by her complete victory and triumph over the Carthaginians, was become terrible to all the nations around her; and not one of her neighbours, then in peace with her, appears to have had any disposition to a rupture. Some pretence of justice, however, she must always have for extending her dominion, and must not fail to be injured, or menaced, or, at least, affronted by the king or the people of whatever country, in the senate's plan of usurpation, stood next to be invaded. Excellent reasons would, doubtless, have been found for bending the main strength of Rome against those

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provinces of Gaul which lay between her Italian territories and Spain, had not the countries of the East presented to the Romans a more alluring prospect. Macedon, Greece, and Asia, would not only be richer prizes of victory, but, in all likelihood, of cheaper and easier acquisition. To make any considerable enlargement of empire to the west, many battles must be fought, many nations, brave and warlike, and independent of each other, be successively subdued, and Italy must bear almost the whole expense both of blood and treasure; and during so tedious a war, the powers of the East might perhaps take the alarm, suspend their mutual jealousies, and form a dangerous confederacy against an encroaching republic, that seemed to set no bounds to her ambition. In attacking Macedon at this time, the senate were sure to be assisted by their clients and allies the Greeks, who, they intended, should support the chief burden of the war, and who, they foresaw, would, after the ruin of that monarchy, naturally fall, from being auxiliaries and allies, to be subjects of Rome; and the Macedonian power, that only barrier, being demolished, the wealthy kingdoms of Asia would lie open to her invasions at pleasure. The first step then towards compassing these vast designs was to find matter of quarrel with king Philip; and therefore, though it could not be well imagined that he, who, even while Hannibal was in Italy, had gladly come to an accommodation with the republic, would now, after she had totally

subdued the only formidable rival of her power, entertain thoughts of invading her dominions ; yet this design, as we shall presently see, must be confidently imputed to him ; the ambitious views of the Macedonian must be timely prevented ; and Rome, for her own security, must be obliged to act offensively against so dangerous an enemy.

PHILIP was the son of Demetrius (great-grandson of Antigonus, one of the captains of Alexander the Great.) He succeeded, while under age, to the kingdom of Macedon, after the death of his uncle and tutor, Antigonus Doson. (This Antigonus, who assumed the power and title of king, having been called to the assistance of the Achæans, in their war with Cleomenes, king of Sparta, had driven him out of Peloponnesus, and made himself the protector of Achaia, and the arbiter of Greece. He died very soon after the defeat of Cleomenes.) Philip had no sooner mounted the throne of Macedon, than the Ætolians, despising his youth, invaded the territories of Messene without any just cause. The Messenians made their complaint to the Achæans, who readily undertook to assist them ; and after finding themselves not strong enough, engaged Philip of Macedon in the same cause. On the other hand, the Ætolians entered into a league with the Lacedæmonians. In this war, which was called the Social War, Philip and the Achæans had greatly the advantage ; yet the Macedonian granted peace to the Ætolians

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Polyb. B. 4.  
c. 2. et seq.

Id. B. 2.  
c. 69.

Id. B. 4.  
c. 35.



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Polyb. B. 5.  
c. 101.

\* See vol.

iv. ch. xx.

+ See vol.

iv. ch. xxiii.

† See vol.

iv. ch. xxviii.

Livy, B. 26.

c. 24. and

B. 27. c. 30.

and their allies, just after Hannibal had defeated the Romans at the lake Thrasymentus. For upon the news of this battle, Demetrius of Pharos \*, who, being expelled his dominions by the Romans, had taken refuge in Philip's court, persuaded the king to settle his affairs in Greece, and, seizing the opportunity given him by the weak condition of Rome, invade Italy. In consequence of which advice, the Macedonian soon after made a league with Hannibal † ; but the Romans, by engaging the Ætolians ‡, the Lacedæmonians, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, to join in a war against Philip, kept him employed in Greece, and hindered the execution of his designs upon Italy ; as has been already related.

§ p 97.  
Polyb. B.  
15. c. 20.

Id B. 15.  
c. 21.

After the king had obtained a peace with Rome §, he turned his thoughts how to enlarge his dominions to the East, and secretly projected with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, to share between them the kingdom of Egypt, where Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old, had lately succeeded his father Ptolemy Philopater. Philip also made a league with Prusias, king of Bithynia, gave him his daughter in marriage, and at his desire laid siege to Cyus, a Greek city on the borders of Bithynia, and which was then governed by an Ætolian, whom his countrymen had sent to the Cynians, to be their general. The Rhodians and Ætolians interceded for the town ; and Philip, by his ambassadors, promised the former to spare Cyus for their sake. Nevertheless, while

those ambassadors were making these assurances, the Rhodians received advice that Philip had sacked the town, and then given it up to his son-in-law. This affront highly provoked them, and they persuaded Attalus, king of Pergamus, then in fear for his own dominions from the ambition of Philip, to unite his forces with theirs, and begin a war with the Macedonian. The confederates attacked his fleet near the island Chios, and defeated it: but they not pursuing the advantage of their victory, Philip gathered together his scattered ships, and made a descent upon Asia. There he took Iassos, Bargylia, and several other towns, and penetrating as far as the territory of Pergamus, laid it waste, not sparing even the temples of the gods, or the sacred groves.

The Athenians also had at this time a quarrel subsisting with Philip, which began on the following occasion. Two Acarnanians happening to be at Athens, when the mysteries of Ceres were celebrated, had, through ignorance of the laws, entered the temple of the goddess, without being initiated into those mysteries; and the Athenians, for this crime, had put them to death. The people of Acarnania made their complaint to the king, desiring his leave and assistance to make war upon Athens. Philip granted both, and the Acarnanians, in conjunction with some Macedonian auxiliaries, made an irruption into Attica, and carried off a great deal of booty.

After the sea-fight at Chios, the Athenians

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Polyb. B.  
16. c. 8.  
c. 1.

c. 11.  
Id. Excerpt.  
B. 16. c.  
1406. and  
1419.

Livy, B. 31.  
c. 14.

Polyb. Legat 3.

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sent an embassy to the king of Pergamus, congratulating him upon his victory, and inviting him to their town. Attalus accepted the invitation, and having, together with some Rhodians, landed at Piræus\*, the magistrates of Athens, the priests, and the citizens, with their wives and children, went out to meet him, and paid him extraordinary honours: a new tribe being at this time added to the ten they had before, they called it Attalis, from his name: all the Rhodians they complimented with the freedom of the city; and, at the king's persuasion and theirs, formally declared war against Philip. The confederates then sent deputies to Rome, to complain of the injuries done by the Macedonian, and of the progress he had made in Asia. Philip, on the other hand, despatched ambassadors to the senate, justifying himself, and accusing Aurelius, the Roman ambassador in Greece, of having raised soldiers in that country, and of having, contrary to the treaty of peace, committed hostilities against his lieutenants: he also desired, that Sopater and the Macedonians, who had served as mercenaries in the Carthaginian army, and been taken prisoners at the battle of Zama, might be set at liberty. M. Furius, whom Aurelius had despatched from Greece to answer this charge, asserted, that the ambassador had not gone out of the territories of the Roman allies, and had only endeavoured to hinder them from being pillaged by the Macedonians. Furius also informed the senate, that Sopater was one

Livy, B. 30.  
c. 42.



of the king's courtiers, and had been sent by him into Africa, with money and four thousand men, to assist Carthage. The conscript fathers approved of Aurelius's conduct, refused to deliver up Sopater and the Macedonians, and threatened the king with a speedy war if he proceeded in the course he had begun. Their answer to the deputies from Attalus and the Rhodians was, that the senate would take care of the affairs of Asia.

In consequence of these several answers, they passed a decree, empowering the consul Ælius to name a general to sail with a fleet of thirty-eight galleys for Macedon; and Lævinus being chosen for the expedition, he sailed thither without delay. On his arrival, Aurelius joined him; and, when they had consulted together, they agreed to write to the senate, that Philip had made mighty preparations for war, and that it would be necessary to send a greater force into Greece than was there at present.

Their letters did not arrive at Rome till new consuls had been chosen, P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta, who on the ides of March, the day they entered upon office, made a report to the senate of the state of affairs in Greece and Macedon. The conscript fathers suspended their determination, till sacrifices should be offered to the gods, and their will consulted. After this they assembled: the letters from Greece were now arrived, and also a new deputation from the Athenians, demanding succours against the king of Macedon,

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Livy, B. 31.  
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who threatened them with a siege; the consuls took this opportunity to declare, that the gods accepted the sacrifices, and that, by the report of the aruspices, the entrails of the victims portended to the republic victories and triumphs, and augmentation of dominion. The assembly passed a decree, that thanks be returned to the Athenians for their fidelity; that the consuls immediately draw lots for their provinces; and that he to whom Macedon falls, shall ask the people's consent to a war with Philip.

Macedon fell to Sulpicius. He assembled the *comitia* by centuries, and proposed the war: but the motion was there rejected by a plurality of voices. For the commons of Rome, already exhausted by the long and grievous war with Hannibal, had no inclination to begin a new one, that must, in all probability, be very burdensome. And Bæbius, one of their tribunes, revived the old complaint, that the nobles, from views of ambition and private interest, were for adding war to war, that the people might never enjoy any repose. The senate, nevertheless, did not desist from their project. Sulpicius once more convened the people. To engage their consent to the enterprise, he put them in mind of the fatal consequences which had followed upon their delaying to send succours to the Saguntines, when threatened by Hannibal, as the Athenians were now by Philip. That their negligence in the former case had encouraged the Carthaginian to pass the Alps, and invade Italy; that though he had been

five months coming from Spain, five days would be sufficient to bring Philip upon their coasts; and, granting that the king and his Macedonians were not so much to be feared as Hannibal and the Carthaginians, yet certainly Philip was a more powerful prince than Pyrrhus, who had led his victorious army almost to the walls of Rome. He further reminded them, "that their present security was owing to Scipio's being suffered to transport his legions into Africa; and, that it was undoubtedly good policy to keep hostilities at a distance, and make war only in an enemy's country." The arguments of the consul prevailed, and the centuries voted for war.

And now the chief concern of the senate was to settle the several armies which were to act this year: no more than six legions were raised in all. Sulpicius had leave to strengthen the two legions assigned him for the Macedonian war, by as many volunteers as he could get from among the soldiers which Scipio had brought from Africa; but he was not to force any of them into the service. The consul Aurelius also raised two legions, to march whithersoever the wavering nations of Italy made his presence necessary. And then the prætorian armies were formed for the service in Cisalpine Gaul, Bruttium, Sicily, and Sardinia.

Ambassadors arrived at this time from Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who, having escaped, in his minority, the wicked designs of

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Justin, R.  
30. c. 2.  
Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 6.  
§ 1  
Livy, B. 31.  
c. 9.



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his guardians, had (according to Justin) put himself under the protection of the Romans, and received from them M. Lepidus, to be his guardian and defender against the threatened invasions of the kings of Syria and Macedon. Ptolemy inclined to send succours to Athens, which Philip was marching to besiege; but he durst not undertake any thing till he had asked the consent of the Roman republic. The senate returned him thanks for the deference he had showed them, and gave this answer to his ambassadors, “ that Rome was resolved to support her allies; that she would give Ptolemy notice when she wanted his assistance; and that she knew his kingdom to be a faithful and firm support of the republic.”

The consul Sulpicius was hindered from setting out for Macedon by ceremonies of religion. In the beginning of a new war, the Romans would have nothing customary of that kind neglected; the least omission of the usual formalities being thought to affect the success of the enterprise. It was judged proper, on this occasion, that Sulpicius should vow games in honour of Jupiter, and make him a present. Nevertheless it met with some opposition: for the republic had not the sum necessary for the expense of the games; and the pontifex maximus declared, “ that the gods did not care to be at uncertainties; that they were always for ready money; and that the sum vowed must be set apart at the time of the vow.” However, this sentence of the pontifex was over-

ruled by the pontifical college, before whom Sulpicius, by order, laid the affair. They decreed, that the senate should be free to determine the expense of the games, and the value of the present; and this was the first time that ever a vow was made of an indeterminate sum; or, that the gods gave credit.

A sudden insurrection of the Gauls detained Sulpicius some time longer at Rome. Hamilcar, whom Mago had left in Italy, was at the head of them. He seized Placentia, burnt the town, put most of the inhabitants to death, and advanced towards Cremona: the Cremonese shut their gates against him, stood a siege, and gave notice of their danger to Furius Purpureo, the Roman prætor, who, in the neighbourhood of Ariminum, commanded five thousand men of the allies. Furius not having strength sufficient to contend with the enemy, wrote to the senate, desiring succours, and acquainting them that the Gauls were forty thousand strong. The fathers decreed, that either the consul Aurelius should, at the head of some legions he had ordered to rendezvous in Hetruria, go to the relief of Cremona; or, in case he declined the commission, that those legions should march to Ariminum without him, and be commanded in the expedition against the Gauls by Furius, who should send his five thousand men into Hetruria. Aurelius chose to continue at Rome.

The senate appointed also an embassy to Carthage, to complain of Hamilcar; and to require that he should be recalled and given up

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to the Romans, together with some deserters, who, according to the treaty, ought to have been given up before. The same ambassadors had instructions to go into Numidia, with presents and a compliment to Masinissa, on the recovery and enlargement of his dominions; and they were to signify to him, that as Rome was entering upon a new war with Macedon, it would be very acceptable, if he would send the republic some squadrons of Numidian horse.

Masinissa was now in possession of the capital, together with a great part of the kingdom of Syphax. Vermina, the son of that dethroned king, held the other part. In the low condition to which the victories of Scipio had reduced him, he could have no security against the ambition of Masinissa, but in the protection of Rome. To the senate therefore he sent envoys to solicit a reconciliation. They endeavoured to excuse what part he had acted in the war against the Romans; laid the blame upon the Carthaginians; reminded the senate that Masinissa had been the enemy of Rome, before he became her friend; assured them, that neither Masinissa nor any other would do more to deserve the favour of the republic than Vermina; and, in conclusion, begged he might receive from the senate the title of king, and be admitted into their alliance and friendship. The fathers answered, that Syphax had, without any just cause, renounced their friendship, and become their enemy; that Vermina ought to ask a peace of the Roman people, before he



aspired to be styled king by them ; an honour which they conferred only upon those princes who had deserved it by important services. They added, that Vermina might have recourse to the Roman ambassadors who were going into Africa ; that they would be empowered to declare the conditions upon which the republic would enter into a treaty with him ; and that if he would have any alteration made in the terms they offered, he might again have recourse to the senate. Such was the haughtiness which the Romans assumed, after the reduction of Carthage.

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At this time the public creditors, who had lent their money on the promise of being reimbursed at three several payments, complained loudly for want of the last, which had been delayed beyond the time on account of the expenses of the Macedonian war. The senate, to do these creditors justice in the best manner they could, assigned over to them certain lands, which belonged to the public, and were within fifty miles of the city, at the rent of one *as* per acre, adding this condition, that when the state was able to pay, it should be in the option of the creditors to keep the lands, or receive their money.

Livy, B. 31.  
c. 13.

Philip of Macedon began the campaign long before the consul Sulpicius left Rome. The king despatched Philocles with 2000 foot and 200 horse to lay waste the lands of the Athenians ; and, ordering Heraclides to Maronea with the fleet, he himself with the main of his

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Polyb. B.  
16. c. 15.

army marched thither by land. Having easily made himself master of this town, afterwards of Ænus and some other places, he overran the Chersonesus, and from thence crossed the straits, and sat down before Abydos. Atalus and the Rhodians, instead of opposing Philip, wasted their time in negotiations to bring the Ætolians and others of the Greeks into the new alliance. All the assistance they sent to Abydos was 300 Pergamenians and one Rhodian galley. The inhabitants made a stout defence; and when Philip, after he had beat down a part of the wall, refused them their lives and liberty, they took a solemn oath to massacre their wives and children, set fire to the town, burn their effects, and die themselves in the breach. Animated with this fury, they fought so desperately, on the next assault made by Philip, that he lost almost all hope of reducing them. But now the chiefs of the Abydenians, having time to reflect on their inhuman design, and thinking it a less evil to submit to the king than to imbrue their hands in the blood of so many women and children, sent to him to beg mercy. Just at this time M. Æmilius arrived in Philip's camp. He was the youngest of three ambassadors whom the Romans had sent to Antiochus and Ptolemy, with orders to coast along Greece in their way to Asia, and to come, if possible, to a conference with the king of Macedon. The ambassadors hearing at Rhodes, that Philip was besieging Abydos, it was agreed amongst them,

that Æmilius should go and confer with him. The Romans signified to the king, that the senate required of him, not to make war with any nation in Greece, not to meddle in Ptolemy's affairs, and to give satisfaction for the injuries he had done to Attalus and the Rhodians: adding, that, if he complied with these demands, the peace might still continue between Rome and him; if he did not, he must expect war. Philip began to excuse himself, alleging, that the Rhodians had been the aggressors. "But what have the Athenians done?" replied Æmilius, interrupting him. "Wherein have the Cyanians, or the people of Abydos, offended? Have any of these been the aggressors?" To this the king answered, "There are three reasons of your haughty behaviour, and for which I forgive it: you are a young man without experience; you are very handsome, and you are a Roman. I earnestly wish that Rome may not violate the treaty; but if she does, I shall, with the assistance of the gods, defend myself." This conference put an end to all thoughts of peace, and Æmilius was dismissed. The chiefs of the Abydenians surrendered the city; but the multitude remembering the oath they had sworn, a fit of rage seized them, and they fell to massacring their wives, their children, and themselves. Philip, surprised at their madness, ordered proclamation to be made through the town, that all those, who had a mind to hang themselves, or cut their

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Livy, B. 31.  
c. 22.

own throats, should have three days' time to do it.

Philip repassed the Hellespont. Sulpicius was now wintering near Apollonia; he had come too late in the year to attempt any thing. Upon his arrival he sent Claudius Centhos to Athens with twenty galleys and some Roman legionaries, to cover the Athenian territories from the ravages of Philocles. Centhos not only put a stop to the hostilities of the Macedonians, but took revenge on the Chalcidian pirates for their robberies: he sailed with the best part of his squadron, surprised Chalcis in the night, pillaged it, beat down the statues of king Philip, burnt all his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returned with the spoil to Athens. The Macedonians, upon the first news of the taking of Chalcis, hastened to that town, thinking to surprise the Romans there: but they were gone. Thence he marched with great expedition to Athens, in the hope of finding it unprepared for resistance. The Athenians, however, had notice of his coming, and drew out their forces to fight him. Philip, pleased with an opportunity to show his bravery before a multitude of people, who crowded on the walls to see the engagement, gave his men this short exhortation, "Fix your eyes on me, and remember, that where the king is, there his troops ought to be." Then falling upon the Athenians with incredible fury, he drove them into the town, and pursued them

to the very gates. Next day the besieged, strengthened by a reinforcement of Romans and Pergamenians, appeared in order of battle, before the walls; Philip thought proper to remove to a greater distance, and posted himself at Eleusis. In that neighbourhood he signally vented his rage, sparing neither tombs nor temples, nor even the images of the gods. After this, understanding that the diet of Achaia was assembled at Argos, to deliberate upon a war with the tyrant Nabis, (who after the death of Machanidas had usurped the Lacedæmonian throne) he hastened thither, and offered his assistance to the Achæans, upon condition that they would furnish garrisons for the cities of Oreus, Chalcis, and Corinth: but they perceiving that his views were to embroil them with the Romans, declined his offers. Whereupon he returned into Attica, renewed his devastations there, and then marched into Bœotia.

In Italy, the prætor Furius, at the head of the army which the consul Aurelius should have commanded, (had he not chosen rather to continue at Rome) defeated the Gauls in a pitched battle, near Cremona. Of forty thousand of the enemy, scarce six thousand escaped. Aurelius's jealousy was awakened by this success. Vexed at having missed so favourable an opportunity of acquiring glory, he, to repair his loss in some measure, put himself now at the head of his troops: but Furius had left him little to do. The victorious prætor returned to Rome, and in the absence of the consul ob-

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Livy, B. 31.  
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tained a triumph, by a decree of the senate, though contrary to the judgment of the oldest senators ; because the army, with which he had conquered, had not fought under his auspices.

The ambassadors who had been sent to Carthage, and into Numidia, were now returned. They had found no reason to be dissatisfied with the Carthaginians, who, with regard to Hamilcar, had answered, that they would punish him the only way they could, which was by banishment and confiscation of his effects. All the Roman deserters they could find, they had delivered up ; and had sent to Rome, by way of present, two hundred thousand modii of wheat, and as much to the Roman army in Macedon. Masinissa offered the republic a reinforcement of two thousand horse : the senate accepted only of one thousand ; and these the king transported into Macedon at his own expense, sending with them two hundred thousand modii of wheat and as many of barley. As for Vermina, he had submitted himself to the conditions of peace which the ambassadors proposed ; and it is probable that he then assumed the title of king, over that part of Mæsæsyliæ which Masinissa had not conquered from Syphax.



## CHAP. II.

*The Ætolians decline taking part in the war. Some slight engagements between the Romans and Macedonians. The Ætolians declare for the Romans. The ridiculous behaviour of the Athenians with regard to Philip. The consul Flamininus lands in Greece; has a conference with Philip; forces his entrenchments; gains over the Achæans to the interest of Rome; has another conference with Philip. The battle of Cynocephalæ. A peace concluded.*

THE consular fasces were transferred to L. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Villius Tappulus. Scipio Africanus was chosen at the same time one of the censors; and likewise declared prince (or president) of the senate. The conduct of the war in Italy fell to Lentulus, the war of Macedon to Villius; but these two heads of the republic, after the example of their predecessors, continued long at Rome, and did not go to their provinces till it was very late. Sulpicius, who, from being consul, was now become proconsul in Greece, came out of his winter quarters, and encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, on the banks of the Aspus, a river of Illyricum. Apustius, whom he sent out with a detachment to ravage the borders of Macedon, took several places by assault. Upon his return from this expedition, some petty kings in the neighbourhood, who had been formerly in alliance with the Romans, came to offer their services to the proconsul; amongst these, Pleuratus, king of the Dardani, in Illyricum; Bato, a sovereign (probably) of a

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Livy, B. 33.  
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B. 31. c. 27.

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country near Illyricum ; and Amynander, king of the Athamanes, a people of Epirus.

The devastation made by the Romans in Macedon brought Philip from Bœotia to the defence of his own country. He took all the measures for that purpose which became an able general. As a diet of the Ætolians was now actually assembled at Naupactus, he sent ambassadors to dissuade them from joining his enemies. Furius Purpureo went thither on the part of the Romans ; and some envoys from Athens repaired to the same place. Damocritus, prætor of the Ætolians, presided in the diet. The Macedonian ambassadors were first heard. Their speeches were full of invectives against the Romans, whom they treated as barbarians, ambitious, perfidious, and cruel ; giving, as proofs of this charge, their proceedings at Rhegium, Capua, and Tarentum, their invasion of Sicily, first under pretence of assisting the people of Messina, afterwards of delivering Syracuse from the tyranny of Carthage : “ What has been the consequence ? Rome holds Messina, Syracuse, and all Sicily in subjection, and sends her annual governors into the island to lord it over the natives : she would now make use of you, Ætolians, to conquer Philip ; but should he be ruined, you yourselves would soon become a prey to the barbarians, and, when the Romans are your masters, too late repent of having rejected the friendship of the king of Macédon.” The ambassadors concluded with pressing the diet to continue firm to the treaty

made with Philip a few years before. The Athenians, who spoke next, expatiated upon the inhumanity and unparalleled impiety of the Macedonian, who, in his barbarous method of making war, had violated even the sepulchres of the dead, and the sanctuaries of the gods : and they exhorted the assembly “ to join in the common cause of the two most formidable powers, that of Heaven, and that of Rome.” After this Furius Purpureo was heard. His speech turned chiefly on a justification of the Roman conduct, with regard to the cities mentioned by the Macedonians. He insisted on the moderation and lenity of the republic in her conduct towards Carthage, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon Philip ; and, lastly, he advised the assembly to lay hold of the present opportunity of renewing their confederacy with Rome, unless they chose rather to perish with Philip than conquer with the Romans. The diet inclined to favour the Roman cause ; but Damocritus suspended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could legally be determined out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful Greek made a merit afterwards, with his countrymen, of his address in this affair, pretending that his design was only to gain time, till by the progress of the war it should appear which side was the stronger.

The king was now at Demetrius in Thessaly. He gave the command of his fleet to Heraclides, with orders to guard the coast ; and he

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marched himself with the land army to meet the proconsul, who was advancing into the very heart of Macedon. Skirmishes soon happened between some flying squadrons. Philip, to encourage his troops, by showing that his regard for them extended beyond their death, would needs take particular care to have the slain brought to the camp, and funeral rites performed. But this had a quite contrary effect to what the king proposed; the soldiers were terrified when they beheld the large and dreadful wounds made by the Roman sabres in the bodies of their companions; for the swords, which the Greeks used, were chiefly for thrusting, and made but small wounds.

Philip having recalled the detachment he had sent under his son Perses and his governors, to guard the passes of Pelagonia, and hinder Pleuratus and the Dardani from entering Macedon, his army was now considerable, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and he came and posted himself within two hundred paces of the Roman camp. The third day Sulpicius offered him battle; but the Macedonian judged it not proper to venture a decisive action, till he had studied the enemy, and their manner of fighting. To this end, he first detached a small party to skirmish, and these being worsted, the next day he sent out all his cavalry and light armed infantry, under Anaxagoras, and laid an ambush for the Romans, which they escaped, through the ill management of the Macedonians. In a third

action, near Octolophum, whither Sulpicius had removed his camp, the king, pursuing too eagerly some advantage he gained in the beginning of the fight, had like to have lost his life, as he did the battle.

This ill success, and the intelligence Philip received, that Pleuratus, king of the Dardani, had entered Macedon, in order to join the Romans, made him leave his post; he decamped in the night, without the proconsul's perceiving it. Sulpicius after a few days pursued him, and forced his way into Eordæa, through some narrow passes, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Macedonian to stop him. Having lived here a while upon free quarter, he returned to Apollonia, and there delivered up the army to the consul Villius Tappulus, who was arrived from Rome.

At this time the veteran soldiers, who had served under Scipio, and had entered the present service as volunteers, grew impatient to return to Italy, that they might enjoy some repose; and they demanded, in a very mutinous manner, to be dismissed. The consul could not deny their request to be reasonable; but he reproved them for their manner of asking, bid them return to their colours, and promised to write to the senate to procure their discharge. The season of the year, which was far advanced, would not suffer Villius to undertake any thing of moment this campaign.

While Philip found that he was no longer pursued by the Romans, and that the consul

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Livy, B. 31, c. 38, 39.

B. 32. c. 3.

B. 31. c. 40.

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gave him time to breathe, he took advantage of the opportunity, and marched against the Ætolians, who at length had taken part with the Romans, and jointly with Amynder, king of the Athamanes, made an irruption into Macedon. He defeated them, and forced them to retire into their own countries. Anaxagoras, whom he had detached against the Dardani, had the like success.

Livy, B. 31.  
c. 44.

As to sea-affairs, Apustius, to whom the proconsul Sulpicius had given the command of the Roman fleet, had early in the year sailed from Coreyra, joined the naval force of king Attalus off the coast of Argolis, and sailed thence to the port Piræus; which so elevated the Athenians, that they behaved themselves in the most ridiculous manner. To express their resentments against the king of Macedon, they passed a decree to destroy the statues of him and his ancestors, which they had before worshipped, break down their altars, and abolish the festivals instituted to their honour; ordering, that for the future the priests should, as often as they prayed for the Athenians, and their allies, pronounce curses against Philip, his children, his kingdom, his sea and land forces, and all the race and name of the Macedonians; and that the places where any thing had been written, or put up in honour of the king, should be looked upon as impure and detestable. They added, that whatever mark of ignominy any body should propose to lay upon Philip, the people of Athens should consent to



it ; and that it should be lawful to kill any man who should say or do any thing in honour of the king. " Thus," says Livy, " the Athenians made war upon Philip by words and writings, in which their only strength lay." The united fleets having spent the summer in expeditions of no great importance on the coasts of Macedon, Thessaly, and Eubæa, in some of which they were assisted by twenty Rhodian galleys, under the command of Agesimbrotus, returned about the autumnal equinox to Piræus. Apustius left thirty of his ships there, and with the rest sailed to Corcyra, as Attalus did to Asia, after some stay in Attica, to celebrate the feast of Ceres.

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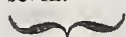
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Philip continued to keep the field ; but after a fruitless attempt to take Thaumacia in Thessaly, a strong town situated on a rock, he returned to Macedon, to make preparations for the next campaign ; and the consul Villius spent the winter in Apollonia.

Livy, B. 32.  
c. 4.

The other consul Lentulus, who should have led his army against the Gauls, did not stir from the city, until Bæbius, the prætor of Gaul, who had put himself at the head of the consular army, was defeated by the Insubrians. He had rashly entered their country, where, being surrounded by the enemy, he lost near seven thousand of his men. Upon this news the consul hastened to the camp, and dismissed Bæbius with ignominy, but did nothing of moment in his province, being soon recalled to

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Rome to preside at the *comitia* for the great elections.

It was not customary to raise any person to the consulate, till he had previously passed through the offices of quæstor, curule ædile, and prætor. Great opposition was therefore made by two tribunes of the people to the proceeding of the *comitia* for the grand elections, which were now held by Lentulus. Two of the candidates were T. Quinctius Flaminius, and Sext. Ælius Pætus, surnamed Catus. They had neither of them been in the prætorship; and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been so much as ædile. The affair at length devolved upon the senate: as the tribunes had only custom and no law on their side, the fathers decreed, that the centuries should be free to choose the two candidates in question; and they were accordingly elected consuls.

The first business of these new magistrates was to introduce into the senate the ambassadors of king Attalus. They came to complain of Antiochus, king of Syria, who had invaded the territories of their master; and they requested that the Romans would either send some troops to guard his dominions, or allow Attalus to carry back his own fleet to defend them. Antiochus was secretly in league with Philip, and the senate were not ignorant of it, but they thought it advisable, in the present conjuncture, to dissemble their resentment: they

answered, therefore, that they were obliged to Attalus, for the assistance of his fleet and his troops; but did not desire to detain them longer than it was convenient for him: that the Roman republic made use of what belonged to others, solely at the pleasure of the owners, whom she always considered as free to withdraw their aid, when they pleased: that she could not send him help against Antiochus her friend and ally; but would despatch ambassadors to acquaint him, that as she employed Attalus's fleet and his troops against Philip their common enemy, it would be agreeable to her if Antiochus would put an end to the war with the king of Pergamus; and that it was but reasonable, the friends and allies of Rome should be at peace amongst themselves. Ambassadors were accordingly sent; and Antiochus complied.

The war of Macedon fell by lot to Flaminius; that with the Gauls to Ælius.


Flaminius did not imitate the dilatory conduct of his predecessors. With eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, most of them chosen out of the troops which had served under Scipio, he hastened to Brundisium, and from thence set sail for Corcyra. Philip was now in great perplexity; in danger from powerful enemies, who attacked him by sea and land, while he had reason to fear the inconstancy of his allies, and the resentment of his subjects. The Macedonians hated his government on account of his minister Heraclides. This man (says

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Polyb. B.  
13. c. 2.

Polybius) a Tarentine by birth, of the dregs of the people, and abandoned to all manner of debauchery, was excellently formed by nature for mischief. He had a ready invention, a great memory, and a wonderful talent for flattering the great. Banished his own country on account of some traitorous practices, he had taken refuge in the Macedonian court, and there, insinuating himself in the king's favour, had grown to such a height of power, and made so bad a use of it, as to be one of the chief causes of the ruin of the kingdom. Philip, at this time, to soothe his people, discarded and imprisoned his minister: what became of him afterwards history has not informed us. The Macedonian was obliged to give up some towns to the Achæans, in order to bind them to his interest in this dangerous conjuncture. Having made great preparations for war during the winter, he advanced with his army in the spring, and encamped near Apollonia on the river Aous, where it runs through a very narrow valley between two mountains, the one of which he ordered Athenagoras to take possession of with the light armed troops, and posted himself on the other with the remainder of his forces. The situation of his camp was so strong, both by art and nature, that Villius, who had brought his legions within five miles of it, going in person to take a view of it, was terrified at the appearance it made. He called a council of war to deliberate, whether it would not be better to march about, and enter Macedon the

same way that Sulpicius had gone last year, than to attempt forcing the king's entrenchments. The officers were divided in opinion, and during this indetermination Flaminius arrived, and took upon him the command of the army.

And now a new council of war being held, it was resolved to attack the Macedonian camp, lest the Romans, by taking a long circuit, should happen to want provisions, and be forced to protract the war to a great length. But when the resolution of the council should have been put in execution, forty days were spent in fruitless contrivances how to surmount the difficulties; and this respite gave Philip hopes of procuring a treaty of peace. By the means of some chiefs of the Epirot nation he obtained an interview with the consul. Flaminius demanded nothing in favour of the Romans: but he required that Philip should restore to the Greeks all the cities he possessed of theirs, and make satisfaction to all those whose territories he had plundered. The king did not refuse to surrender the cities which he himself had taken from the Greeks, but was unwilling to part with those which his ancestors had conquered; and he offered to submit himself to the arbitration of neutral powers, who should judge of the injuries the Greeks had suffered from him. The consul briskly replied, that there was no need of such an arbitration; that as he was the aggressor, he ought to repair all damages. "What cities then," said Philip, "would you

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Livy, B. 32.  
c. 10.

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dred nine-  
ty-seven.



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sulship.

Plut. Life of  
Flamininus.

have me restore?" "All Thessaly," answered the Roman. The king in anger replied, "What more, consul, could you have demanded, if you had conquered me?" This said, he immediately broke off the conference, and went away.

The next morning hostilities began, but with little advantage to either side. After some days the consul detached a party of four thousand foot, and three hundred horse, under the guidance of a shepherd, whom Charops, one of the chiefs of the Epirots, had sent to him for that purpose. This fellow knew all the paths and by-roads over the mountains; and he undertook to lead the detachment (which was to march only by moonlight) in three nights time to the top of a mountain which overlooked the Macedonian camp. They had orders to give the signal by fires, when they had gained the post appointed them. The third day, Flamininus caused two thirds of his army to march up and assail the enemy's entrenchments. In the heat of the action, the detachment falling suddenly down, like a torrent from the mountain, on the Macedonians, put a speedy end to the conflict. Philip was one of the first that fled. About five miles from his camp he stopped, upon a little hill, the ways to which being narrow and difficult, he thought he might safely wait there for his troops; which, when he had got together, he retired with them into Thessaly, having lost only two thousand men. This defeat produced other ill consequences to Philip: the Ætolians and Athamanes, encouraged by it,



entered Thessaly on different sides, and made great havoc and devastation in that unfortunate country.

Flamininus, with his victorious legions, marched through Epirus in pursuit of the king, entered Thessaly, and took several fortresses garrisoned by Macedonians. But Atrax, a town upon the river Pneus, ten miles from Larissa, held out against him even after he had made a breach in the wall: the garrison drew themselves up in a phalanx behind the breach, and bravely repulsed the Romans. Flamininus thinking it of consequence not to have his army affronted by a handful of men, and having ordered the place, where the wall had fallen, to be cleared of the rubbish, and a tower of a great height filled with soldiers to be moved thither, advanced, in person, with his legions to the attack: but the breach being narrow, and the Macedonians standing firm, all his efforts to enter proved vain, and he was constrained to raise the siege. Philip had retired to the famous vale of Tempe, from whence he sent succours to the cities in his interest.

Whilst the consul was thus employed in the northern part of Thessaly, his brother L. Quinctius, whom he had made admiral of the fleet, being joined near the island of Andros by Attalus's fleet of twenty-four ships from Asia, and that of the Rhodians, consisting of twenty, laid siege to Eretria and Carystus, maritime cities of Eubœa, and when he had carried these places, entered the Saronic gulf, and ap-

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Livy, B. 32.  
c. 13.

c. 15.

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dred nine-  
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Livy, B. 32.  
c. 18.

peared before Cenchrea, one of the ports of Corinth.

It was now time for the consul to think in what part of Greece he should pass the winter. Neither Ætolia nor Acarnania had any maritime city which could furnish quarters for his troops, and had, at the same time, a haven large enough to contain all the store-ships necessary to supply the army with provisions. He chose, therefore, to winter in Phocis, a country not far from Ætolia and Thessaly, and where the city of Anticyra, on the gulf of Corinth, would be commodious both for his soldiers and his ships. Having turned his arms that way, Anticyra surrendered, after a slight defence. He took likewise Ambryses, Hyampolis, and Daulis; and whilst he lay before Elatia, he learned that the Achæans had banished Cycliades, the chief of the Macedonian faction among them, and chosen for their prætor, Aristænus, a man well affected to Rome. The consul therefore judged this a favourable opportunity to gain that nation to the interest of the republic; in order to which he sent a deputation to them, with offers to put Corinth under the jurisdiction of Achaia, as it had formerly been. This was a tempting proposal, and the diet assembled to deliberate upon it. Cleomedon appeared there as ambassador from Philip, and pressed them to a neutrality; L. Calpurnius spoke on the part of the Romans; the envoys from king Attalus, the Rhodians and the Athenians, were

likewise heard. Next day the assembly met again to debate the matter without admitting the foreign ministers, but could not come to any resolution; they feared both the Romans and Philip, and were under obligations to the latter; they had not even the courage to declare their sentiments, though pressed to it by Aristænus the president: a universal silence reigned in the assembly. After some time Aristænus, in a long harangue, represented to them the situation of their affairs, and urged the necessity of their joining the Romans, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance they had condescended to request: but this discourse did not bring the Achæans to any agreement among themselves. The disputes grew warm, even to mutual reproaches, and the ten demiurgi<sup>1</sup> were equally divided. The diet sat but one day longer, and the most part of this they spent in contention. In the end, one of the demiurgi, of Philip's party, was brought over to the Roman interest, by the prayers and threatenings of his father: the deputies from Dymæ, Megalopolis, and some of those from Argos, seeing how the affair was like to be determined, rose up, and left the assembly, for these three cities were under particular obligations to Philip. The rest of Achaia made an alliance with the Athenians, Attalus and the Rhodians, but deferred con-

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sulship.

Livy, B. 32,  
c. 21, 22.

<sup>1</sup> The ten demiurgi seem to have been the chief magistrates of ten cities which, at this time, composed the Achæan state. *Livy, B. 38. c. 30.*



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cluding a treaty with Flaminius, till the return of some ambassadors sent to Rome to get it approved. Nevertheless the Achæans, for their own interest, immediately lent assistance to the Romans to reduce Corinth.

The city was attacked on the side of Cenchrea by Quinctius, at the gate of Sicyon by the Achæans, and on the side of the port Lechæum by Attalus. It was at first hoped by the confederates that a difference would arise between the garrison and the inhabitants, and that they should thereby become masters of the place: but Androstenes, who commanded the garrison for Philip, had gained the affections of the Corinthians, and being powerfully supported by some Roman deserters, who had served in Hannibal's army, and by a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men under Philocles, one of king Philip's generals, he obliged the besiegers to drop their enterprise.

Livy, B. 32.  
c. 25.

After this, Philocles marched to Argos, where the Achæan diet had placed a commander named Ænesidemus, a man faithful to his trust; but the inhabitants being in the interest of Philip, took arms, and obliged the governor to capitulate. Ænesidemus obtained leave for the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, to depart in safety, but he continued there himself with a few of his friends. Philocles sent to ask him, "why he staid, and what he intended to do?" To which he answered, "to die in the place committed to my care." Hereupon Philocles ordered some Thracians to let

fly their arrows at the Achæan and his friends : they were all slain.

Flaminius, after he had taken Elatia, retired for the winter to Anticyra.

The time of the elections at Rome now drew near, and Ælius, who had done no great matter in Cisalpine Gaul, was called home to assemble the centuries. They chose C. Cornelius Cethegus and Q. Minucius Rufus, consuls. It was thought fit at this time to increase the number of prætors to six, by creating two new ones for the government of Hither Spain and Further Spain. The consuls, being both ambitious of conducting the war in Macedon, were in great haste to draw lots for that province : but this motion was opposed by two tribunes of the commons, who represented to the people the ill consequences which might attend the recalling Flaminius from Greece in the midst of his successes. Cornelius and Minucius at length consented to leave the matter to the determination of the senate, if the tribunes would do the same. Accordingly it was referred to the conscript fathers, and they decreed, that Flaminius should continue in his command till the people thought fit to recal him ; they granted him also a recruit of five thousand foot, three hundred horse, and three thousand seamen and rowers, and left him his brother Quintus to conduct the fleet under his direction ; Sulpicius and Villius were to serve in his army as his lieutenants. As for the two consuls, they were both ordered into Cisalpine Gaul

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sulship.

Polyb. B.  
17. c. 1.  
Livy, B. 32.  
c. 32.

against Hamilcar, who still headed the revolt there.

Flamininus, who knew nothing of what was doing at Rome, and had some apprehension of being recalled, was very desirous of having it in his power, in that case, to conclude an honourable treaty with Philip, before any successor could arrive to rob him of the glory; and therefore, though he at first pretended an unwillingness to grant an interview which the king demanded, he at length consented to it, and it was agreed that the place of conference should be on the sea-coast, not far from Nicæa, a city on the Maliac Gulf. Philip came to this place by sea, in one of his ships of war, attended by five small vessels; and he had on board with him his two secretaries. With Flamininus, who came on foot to the sea-shore, where Amynder, king of the Athamanes; Dionysodorus, ambassador from Attalus; Agesimbrotus, admiral of the Rhodian fleet; Phæneas, general of the Ætolians; and Aristænus and Xenophon, two deputies from the Achæans. Philip continued in the prow of his ship, which lay at anchor, "Why don't you come ashore?" said the proconsul, "we shall hear one another better, Which of us do you fear?" "The gods alone I fear," answered the king; "but there are with you some men, whom I cannot trust, and least of all the Ætolians." "The danger is equal on both sides," replied Flamininus, "there is always some hazard in conferences with enemies." "No," said Philip, "the danger is not equal,



Were Phæneas dead, the Ætolians might easily choose another prætor, but were I killed, the Macedonians could not so readily find another king." Then both parties remained silent for some time, the proconsul expecting, that as Philip had asked the conference, he would speak first. The king said, it belonged to him who was to prescribe the terms of peace to speak first, not to him that was to accept them: to which Flamininus answered, "I shall tell you plainly the conditions, without which no peace is to be hoped for. Restore to the Romans all the places you have invaded in Illyricum since the last peace; surrender up our deserters; evacuate the cities you have taken from the Egyptians, since the decease of king Ptolemy Philopator; satisfy all the just pretensions of our allies, and immediately leave Greece."

Then the ministers of the king of Pergamus, and of the other allies, by the order of the proconsul, made severally their demands. Some required Philip to restore cities, others ships which he had taken; and others demanded of him to rebuild temples which he had demolished. The deputies of Achaia would have Corinth and Argos reunited to the body of their state. Phæneas and Alexander spoke on the part of the Ætolians. The former confidently insisted on the king's restoring all the places he had usurped from them, and his entirely evacuating Greece. But Alexander, who was esteemed a notable speaker, went further, and, addressing himself to the king,

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reproached him with carrying on the war in an ungenerous manner, and not like the kings of Macedon, his predecessors, who used to meet their enemies in the open field, and there decide their differences by battle, sparing the towns, that they might possess them as the reward of their victories. Whereas Philip's method was, to avoid fighting, over-reach his enemies in conferences, pillage and burn towns, even those of his allies, more of which he had destroyed in Thessaly, the last year, than an enemy would have done. The king, bringing his ship nearer the shore, replied: that Alexander had made a very theatrical harangue, and like an Ætolian; that no man would willingly do an injury to his allies; but that the circumstances of affairs were sometimes such, as obliged those that had the management of them to do things very much against their inclinations. He was going on, when Phæneas interrupted him, saying, that he trifled, and must either conquer in war, or submit to the strongest. Philip immediately answered, "that's clear, indeed, even to a blind man." Phæneas had weak eyes, and the king, who loved a jest, alluded to this infirmity. He then ridiculed the Ætolians, for assuming the airs of the Romans, and, like them, ordering the king of Macedon to quit Greece. He asked them, what it was they meant by Greece; some of the Ætolian nations, he said, were not Greeks. Would they give up these to him? Next he answered the ambassadors from Pergamus and Rhodes, and offered to restore the ships he had

taken from them ; yet adding, that it would be more equitable if they were required to restore his ships, since every one knew, that they were the aggressors in the war. He offered likewise to give up the country of Paræa to the Rhodians : and, as Attalus had insisted upon reparation of the damage he had done to the woods of Nicephorium and the grove of the temple of Venus, “ Since kings,” said he, “ must treat of such matters, I shall repair those damages, the only way they can be repaired ; I shall send thither gardeners and trees, and be at the expense of planting.” In the end of the conference he desired the parties would deliver him their several pretensions in writing, and he promised to consider them : “ I am alone,” said he, “ I have none to assist me with their counsels.” To which the proconsul answered, “ You deserve to be alone, for you have deprived yourself of all your friends.” The king was stung with this reproach, but put on a forced smile. Mutual promises being given, that the conference should be continued the next day in the same place, Philip retired with his ships, and Flamininus returned to his camp.

At the next meeting, the king desired, that in order to cut off a thousand frivolous disputes, the conference might be between him and Flamininus only. This was agreed to, and then Philip came ashore with two of his confidants, and went a little apart with the proconsul. The king offered to give up all he possessed in Illyricum to the Romans ; Phar-

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sulship.

Polyb. B.  
17. c. 7.



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Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred nine-  
ty six.  
~~~~~  
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sulship.

salus and Larissa to the Ætolians, but refused to restore Thebes to them: he offered likewise to restore Paræa to the Rhodians, but reserved Jasos and Bargiliæ; he promised to surrender Argos and Corinth to the Achaians, and to restore to king Attalus the ships and prisoners he had taken from him. But when Flamininus, upon his return to the deputies, made this report, they all raised a great clamour. Philip, perceiving by the noise what opposition his proposals were like to meet with, desired a third interview the next day, at another place not far from Nicæa. They met accordingly; and then the king exhorted the deputies of the nations not to be averse from a peace, and proposed to refer all differences to the arbitration of the Roman senate: the deputies at first opposed this motion, but it was at length agreed to, and commissioners were sent to Rome from the king, the proconsul, and all the confederates.

The commissioners of the allies were first heard in the senate, and they insisted chiefly on the necessity of obliging Philip to give up Demetrius in Thessaly, Corinth in Achaia, and Chalcis in Eubœa: these three places he had called, “The Fetters of Greece.” What was urged on this head raised such strong prejudices against Philip, that when one of his ambassadors was beginning a studied harangue, the senators interrupted him, and said: “Tell us, will the king of Macedon give up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias?” The ambassadors, surprised at this question, answered, that their

master had given them no instructions as to that matter : whereupon they were dismissed, and a decree passed giving full powers to Flamininus to pursue the war, or make peace, as he should think proper.

Philip, finding his hopes frustrated, turned his thoughts wholly to the war ; and as it was of great importance to him to preserve Argos, and yet difficult to do it, because it was in the heart of Achaia, he put Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, into possession of that city, upon condition of its being restored to him in case he came off conqueror in the war. But the tyrant was no sooner master of the place, than he plundered all the inhabitants, committed the most horrible cruelties, and, in order to preserve his new possession, entered into a treaty with Flamininus, (who at his request came from Phocis for that purpose) and furnished the proconsul with six hundred Cretans to act against Philip. After this, Nabis, having extorted all the money he could from the men of Argos, brought his wife Apega thither to practise robbery upon the women. When they came to court, she admired their jewels and rich clothes, and by using good words with some, and menaces with others, entirely stripped them of all their finery. Then the tyrant, leaving a garrison in the place, returned to Lacedæmon. The proconsul spent the winter at Anticyra.

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Livy, B. 32.  
c. 38.

c. 40.

Early in the spring Flamininus, understanding that the general diet of Bœotia was summoned to meet at Thebes, left his quarters,

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Livy, B. 33.  
c. 1.  
Plut. Life of  
Flaminius.

Livy, B. 33.  
c. 21.

and, under a guard of only one manipulus, advanced towards that city, accompanied by king Attalus. The proconsul had ordered two thousand hastati to follow him at some distance; these were hid by the hills about Thebes. Antiphilus, the prætor of Bœotia, seeing the Roman general approach with so small a guard, came out to meet him; and all the inhabitants, out of curiosity to see what passed, ran either to the ramparts, or out of the gates, mostly without arms. When they saw the two thousand hastati appear, they thought themselves betrayed, but dissembled their uneasiness: Flaminius caressed the Bœotians, and gave them leave to hold the diet, which had been appointed to meet the next day. Attalus, who was present at the assembly, spoke first, and with great vehemence urged them to engage in an alliance with the Romans. In the midst of his harangue he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which took away his speech, and he presently after fell down; and though he was brought again to himself, he had lost the use of some of his limbs. [His attendants, a few days after, put him on board a galley, which carried him to Asia, where he died at seventy-one years of age, leaving his crown to his eldest son Eumenes.] This accident did not break up the assembly; and as there was no room for debate upon Attalus's motion, Flaminius being master of the town, the Thebans and all Bœotia entered into a confederacy with the republic.

The proconsul having now no enemies be-



hind him, marched into Thessaly in quest of Philip, who had taken the field. In the neighbourhood of Pheræ, a city of Magnesia, the two armies encamped near each other. But as the country all around was thick set with trees, and full of gardens and ruined walls, neither of the generals thought the ground proper for a pitched battle, and they decamped as it were by consent. Philip bent his march towards Scotussa, where he could have plenty of forage for his army; and Flaminius, suspecting his design, hastened towards the same town, in order to lay waste the fields round it. The roads by which the two armies marched, being divided by a ridge of hills, they advanced as far as Cynocephalæ\* without knowing any thing of each other. Here they came to a decisive battle before either party was prepared for it. The day being foggy, some troops of Roman horse, that had been detached to discover the enemy, fell in unawares with a detachment of Macedonians. A skirmish ensued. On both sides, having sent advice to their respective generals of what had happened, they received successive reinforcements. Various was the fortune of the conflict. Once the Romans would have been totally routed, if five hundred Ætolian horse had not sustained them, and gallantly opposed themselves to the enemy's impetuosity. Flaminius, the fog being at length dispersed, put his whole army into the best order he could; and, with his left, advanced against the right of the Macedonians, which Philip had, by this time, formed into a deep phalanx, on the ascent


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Polyb. B.  
17. c. 15.

\* The Dogs'  
Heads, hills  
so called.

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of a hill. The phalanx, by its weight, the excellency of its arms, and the advantage of the higher ground, entirely broke the Roman battalions that were before it. Flaminius, thinking all lost on this side, joined his right, which had already made an impression on the left of the enemy : for this left was not in the order of a phalanx ; the inequality of the ground would not suffer it : nor, indeed, had the troops come up early enough to be put into any good order for battle : they were therefore soon routed. Among those who pursued them was a legionary tribune, who observing that Philip, with his victorious phalanx, was still pressing after the left of the Romans, turned from the flying enemy, and, with twenty companies, fell upon the phalanx in the rear. Such being the order of a phalanx, that it cannot face about, nor the phalangites fight singly, the hindmost ranks were slaughtered without making resistance ; others threw down their arms and fled : the foremost was charged in front by the Roman legionaries, whom they had routed ; for these, having rallied, returned now to the fight. The king, perceiving the day lost, gathered about him as many of his Macedonians and Thracians as he could, and fled to Tempe. His army, before the battle, consisted of about twenty-one thousand foot and two thousand horse, and that of the Romans was not much more numerous ; of the former eight thousand men were killed and five thousand taken prisoners ; the Romans lost only seven hundred. To add to the king's

misfortune, his general Androstenes, whom he had left in Corinth with six thousand men, was defeated just at the same time, in Achaia, by Nicostratus, prætor of that nation.

The Ætolians by their vanity gave the proconsul great uneasiness. They had indeed bore a good part in the late battle of Cynocéphalæ, but in their songs, which they dispersed over all Greece, they assumed the chief glory of the success to themselves. Flaminius<sup>2</sup> took an opportunity to mortify their pride. Three envoys coming from Philip, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to ask a conference in order to a peace, the proconsul gave them an answer without consulting the chiefs of the Ætolians. Provoked at this affront, they spread a report, that he was bribed by the king, and was betraying the common cause; but in truth the Roman had very different motives for hearkening to Philip's proposals. Antiochus, styled the Great, king of Syria, was preparing to come into Europe

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Polyb. Legat. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch has transmitted to us some verses made by Alcæus on this occasion. They are in the form of an epitaph upon the Thessalians slain at the battle of Cynocéphalæ, and to this effect. "Passenger, on this field lie, unpitied and unburied, thirty thousand Thessalians, vanquished in battle by the Ætolians, and the Latines whom Flaminius led from the plains of Italy. A mighty overthrow to the Thessalians! And the bold boastful Philip fled swifter than the swift hinds." Flaminius is said to have been vexed at this epitaph, because it did not honour him enough; but Philip only laughed at it, and answered the poet in verse, imitating his two first lines. "Passenger, upon this bleak hill stands, leafless and stripped of its bark, a very conspicuous gibbet for the poet Alcæus."



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six.

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sulship.

Livy, B. 33.  
c. 12.

with an army, and Flamininus desired to conclude a treaty with the Macedonian before the arrival of the Syrian. Calling therefore a council of the allies, he asked them upon what terms they thought it might be proper to grant a peace to Philip. Amynander, king of the Athamanes, declared, that he should be pleased with any terms that would secure the liberty and tranquillity of Greece. But the Ætolians spoke with great warmth and haughtiness. They said, that the Roman general was doubtless very much in the right, when a peace was in question, to consult with those who had been his companions in the war; but that he greatly deceived himself, if he imagined the Romans could have a durable peace, or the Greeks assured liberty, without either killing Philip, or dethroning him. The proconsul answered, that it was never the intention of the Romans, nor agreeable to their manners, to carry things to such extremity; nor was it for the interest of Greece to ruin Macedon, which stood as a barrier against the irruptions of the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations; and concluded with saying, that he would grant a peace to the king, but upon such terms as should not leave him in a condition to renew the war.

Philip, the next day, appeared at the congress, and prudently declared: "That he accepted the articles he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the arbitration of the Roman senate. Upon this a truce was

granted him for four months to negotiate a peace at Rome; but Flaminius demanded his son Demetrius, and some other lords of his court, for hostages, and also two hundred talents; on condition, nevertheless, that both the money and the hostages should be restored if the peace did not take place. The Macedonian complied, despatched ambassadors to Rome, and retired into his own dominions.

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In Italy, Cethegus, who had marched against the Insubrians and Cœnomani, obtained a complete victory over them on the banks of the Mincius; thirty-five thousand of those Gauls were slain in the action, and five thousand seven hundred made prisoners; among these, Hamilcar the Carthaginian. Minucius, the other consul, had no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the Ligurians and Boii, against whom he commanded, but he over-ran their country, and laid it waste.

Livy, B. 32.  
c. 30.

From Spain, the accounts at this time were not so favourable. In the Hither Province the prætor Sempronius Tuditanus had been defeated by the Spaniards, and lost his own life in the action; and in Further Spain several towns had been seized by two petty kings. There was almost a general disposition to shake off the Roman yoke.

c. 25.

c. 21.

WHEN the ambassadors from the king of Macedon arrived at Rome, the republic had just chosen new consuls, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus. These magistrates, finding that the senate was going to assign

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Italy for the province of both, moved that one of them might have Macedon. Marcellus contended that a peace with Philip would not be durable, should the army be withdrawn from Greece; and he made such a stir in the senate that he would perhaps have gained his point, if the tribunes had not carried the affair before the *comitia*: the tribes unanimously voted for a peace, and appointed Flamininus to act as general in Macedon till the treaty with the king should be concluded; and for this last purpose ten commissioners were sent thither, accompanied by Philip's ambassadors.

The articles of the peace, between the Roman republic and king Philip, as they were drawn up by the senate, were as follow:

Livy, B. 32.  
c. 30.

“All the cities of the Greeks, both in Europe and in Asia, shall enjoy perfect liberty, and be governed only by their own laws.

“Philip shall, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, evacuate all the Greek cities where he has garrisons; particularly Euromus, Padasia, Bargylæ, Jassos, Thassos, Myrina, Abydos, and Perinthus.

“As to Cius, the proconsul shall notify the intentions of the senate to king Prusias.

“Philip shall restore to the Romans all their deserters;

“Deliver up all his ships that have decks, except five, and one hexaremis;

“Never have above five thousand men in pay; never make use of elephants in his armies; nor



wage war out of Macedon, without the consent of the Romans<sup>3</sup>.

“He shall pay the republic a thousand talents, one half immediately, and the other half in ten years, at ten equal payments.”

These articles being communicated to all the states of Greece, were approved by all, except the Ætolians; who asked the other Greeks, “Why they thought themselves so much obliged to Flamininus for taking the chains off their legs and putting them about their necks?” For observing, that while other towns were particularly specified, no mention was made of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, they insinuated that Rome had an intention to appropriate those places to herself, and thereby become mistress of Greece: a suspicion not ill founded: the senate had purposely avoided mentioning them, in order to leave it in the breast of Flamininus and the council of ten, to keep them, or set them free. Some of the council were for putting strong garrisons into those cities, to guard them against Antiochus: but Flamininus opposed this motion, remonstrating, that if the Romans would refute the calumnies of the Ætolians, and gain universal esteem, they must restore liberty to ALL GREECE. It was therefore finally resolved, that the Romans should have possession of Chalcis, Demetrias, and the citadel of Corinth, only till the apprehensions of Antiochus’s coming into Europe were over.

<sup>3</sup> So says Livy: but we do not find that this article was observed; and Polybius does not mention it.

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sulship.

Plut. Life of  
Flamininus.

LIBERTY to GREECE was soon after proclaimed by a herald in a vast assembly of the Greeks, met together from all parts to celebrate the Isthmian games. Their amazement and joy upon this occasion were inexpressibly great; they could never sufficiently admire the disinterestedness of the Romans, who had proposed to themselves no other fruit from the labours and expenses of the war, than the pleasure of making other nations happy<sup>4</sup>.

Livy, B. 33.  
c. 34.

The members of the council of ten (now dissolved) took each his district, to put the decree in execution. They reinstated the allies of Rome in the possession of all those places which the Macedonian kings had taken from them; so that Philip was confined within the ancient bounds of Macedon. The Ætolians were the only people, of the allies, dissatisfied; they had been refused some towns which they thought they had a right to. They frequently

<sup>4</sup> Had Rome seized upon Greece at this time, it is probable she could not have held it long. The Greeks, always jealous of their liberty, would have been easily stirred up to revolt by Philip; and a dangerous combination might soon have been formed against the republic, by Greece and Macedon, in which the king of Syria, and several other Asiatic provinces, would in all likelihood have joined, to put a stop to the encroachments of Rome. Besides, the Romans were now projecting a war with Antiochus, which the Syrian endeavoured to avoid; and the most plausible pretext they could find for it, (as appears by a speech of the Rhodian deputies in the senate. *Liv. B. 37. c. 54.*) was the freedom of the Greek colonies under his dominion. It was necessary therefore for the republic to keep her word with the Greeks in Europe, that she might be believed by those in Asia.

complained, "that the conduct of the Romans towards them was extremely changed since the victory over Philip, though, without the help of the Ætolians, they could neither have obtained that victory, nor even have come into Greece;" and in the end had recourse to Antiochus the Great, king of Syria.

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## CHAP. III.

*Antiochus the Great invades Thrace.*

*A conference between Antiochus and some Roman commissioners.*

*M. Porcius Cato chosen consul. He opposes the repeal of the Oppian law.*

*He conducts the war in Spain.*

*Hannibal escapes from Carthage into Syria.*

*Flamininus makes war upon Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon; Nabis submits.*

*Antiochus courts the friendship of Rome.*

*Hannibal endeavours to draw Carthage into a new war with Rome.*

ANTIOCHUS the Great was one of those princes called Seleucidæ; the founder of which family was Seleucus Nicator, an officer in the army of Alexander the Great. Seleucus was succeeded, in the throne of Syria, by his son Antiochus Soter, and he by his son Antiochus the god. This god being poisoned by his wife Laodice, was succeeded by his son Seleucus Callinicus, who left two sons, Antiochus Ceraunus, and the Antiochus who now engages our attention.

Appian in  
Syriacis.  
Justin, B.  
27. c. 1.

He possessed all the countries of Asia from the eastern borders of Media to Æolis and



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Polyb. B.  
17. c. 31.  
Livy, B. 33.  
c. 39.]

lonia; also Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and all the coast of the Mediterranean quite to Egypt. His pretence for coming into Europe was to recover possession of Thrace, which Seleucus Nicator had conquered from Lysimachus; and he purposed to rebuild Lysimachia, formerly demolished by the Thracians, and make it the capital of a kingdom, for one of his sons.

Upon the news of the Syrian's arrival, and of the enterprise he had in view, some of the Roman council of ten, who had dispersed themselves in Greece, hastened to Lysimachia, to dissuade him from attempting any conquest in Europe. He received them at first with great politeness; but the Romans soon provoked his pride by those airs which they assumed wherever they came. They told him, that his whole conduct since his leaving Syria displeased the republic; that he ought to restore all the cities he had usurped from Ptolemy; and that it was not sufferable he should possess those he had taken from Philip during his war with Rome, and which the Romans, as conquerors, had the sole right to dispose of. "What!" said they, "shall the Romans have been at the expense of the war, and shall Antiochus reap all the advantages of it? But should we connive at your conquests in Asia, shall we therefore suffer you to invade Europe? Is not this a declaration of war against the Roman senate and people? You may indeed deny it; but you might as well come into Italy and deny that

you have any design against the republic." To this Antiochus answered, "I have long observed, that Rome is very attentive to the conquests I make, but never thinks of setting bounds to her own. Know, that you have as little right to examine what I do in Asia, as I have to concern myself about what you do in Italy." He then asserted the justice of his claim to Thrace, and to the towns he had taken from Ptolemy and Philip, alleging, that they had been all usurped from his ancestors. The conferences were interrupted by a report that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus reckoning Egypt to be his own, hastened aboard his fleet to sail to that country and take possession of it. But putting in at Patara in Lycia, he was there informed that Ptolemy was still alive. After this, having narrowly escaped shipwreck near the mouth of the Sarus in Cilicia, he returned to Antioch, the capital of his dominions, and spent the winter there. He had left his son Seleucus at Lysimachia with a land army to finish the rebuilding of the city, and defend it.

In Italy the two consuls, Marcellus and Furius, had carried on the war with success against the Cisalpine Gauls, and had entirely destroyed two considerable armies of them<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The pontifices and augurs, who had paid no taxes during the late war, were now obliged to pay for all the years they had been deficient: but they were at the same time eased of one burdensome part of their functions; for the Romans erected a new sort of sacerdotal college, under the name of Epulones, whose office was confined wholly to the care of the religious feasts; the number of these

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Valerius  
Ant. apud  
Liv.  
Livy, B. 33.  
c. 36, 42.

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dred ninety-  
four.

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sulship.

Livy, B.34.  
c. 1.

At the elections for the new year, M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus were raised to the consulship. As the affairs of Spain grew very urgent, the senate resolved to send thither one of the consuls with an army. The conduct of it fell by lot to Cato.

While preparations were making for his departure, the Roman ladies took a step, which was a perfect novelty in the republic. About twenty years before, when Hannibal was ravaging Italy, and when the treasury was very low, a tribune of the people named Oppius had got a law passed, “ That no woman should wear above half an ounce of gold in ornaments ; or wear purple ; or ride in a chariot, either at Rome, or within a mile of it, unless she were to assist at a public sacrifice.” The ladies had conformed themselves to this law in a time of general distress ; but they thought it intolerable to be under the restraint of it now, when the republic abounded with riches ; and they made a great stir to get it repealed. The consulship of the austere Cato seemed a very improper time for moving this affair ; but their passion for finery would brook no delay. They prevailed with Valerius and Fundanius, two of

priests in the beginning was only three, and all chosen out of plebeian families. Porcius Læcas was one of the first three. This was he who, when tribune two years before, got the famous Porcian law passed, which forbid, under very severe penalties, to whip or put to death a Roman citizen : but this privilege did not extend to the armies, where the generals had an absolute power of life and death.



the tribunes, to present their request to the *comitia*; and, contrary to custom, ran thither themselves: neither the orders of their husbands, nor the rules of decency, nor public authority, could keep them at home. They beset the ways which led to the Forum, and solicited the men as they passed, urging the justice of their pretensions: they offered their petitions even to the consuls and prætors. Cato was inexorable; he made a long harangue to the assembly in behalf of the law and against the women. “Romans, had each of us been careful to maintain over his own wife the rightful authority of a husband, we should not have had this trouble with the women in a body: but our prerogatives having, by female tyranny, been overturned at home, are now also contemned and trampled upon in the Forum. I thought it had been a fable, that, in a certain island, all the men were cut off by a conspiracy of the women. But there is no mischief of which that sex is not capable, if you allow them to hold, among themselves, assemblies, private parties, and gossipings.

“I cannot determine with myself, whether the thing they ask, or their manner of asking it, be the more pernicious. To us certainly it would be very shameful, to have laws imposed upon us by a secession of the women, as we had formerly by a secession of the commons. I could not help blushing when I came through such a crowd of women in my way to the Forum; and had it not been for the respect

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dred ninety-  
four.

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sulship.

I bear to the individuals, and that it might not be said, they were publicly rebuked by a consul, I would have asked them, ‘ What manners are these, to run mobbing about the streets, beset the highways, and solicit men that are not your husbands? Could not each of you have asked the very thing in question of your husband at home? Are you less coy, are you more free of your blandishments in public than in private? And to other women’s husbands than to your own? Though even at home, if you desired modestly to confine your cares within your proper sphere, you would not think it decent for you to concern yourselves about what laws are here enacted or repealed.’ Our ancestors would not allow women to transact even private affairs without a director; they were under the authority of fathers, brothers, husbands: we are to suffer women (God deliver us!) to assume the government of the state, assemble in the Forum, and vote in the *comitia*! A curb for an untractable nature, an untamed animal: never imagine that women will of themselves set bounds to their liberty, if you do not. The restriction they are under by the Oppian law is the least of their grievances; they want a liberty in all things without control. And what will they not attempt if they gain their present point? Recollect all the laws by which our ancestors have restrained the licentiousness of women, and subjected them to the men. By all these we can hardly keep them within tolerable bounds: what then will be the case, if, by

the repeal of one law after another, you put them upon an equality with us? If once equal, they will soon become superior. But let us hear the reason why the matrons thus flock into the streets, and scarce forbear mounting the rostra to harangue the people. Is it to redeem their fathers, their husbands, their children, or their brothers, from Hannibal's chains? This evil is now far, and may it always be far from the republic. But when it was present, you forbid the women's appearing in public\*, to offer you even pious petitions. Is it religion that has assembled them? Are they to receive the goddess Cybele from Phrygia? Can the women assign, for this sedition of theirs, any pretence that will bear being mentioned? We would shine, say they, in gold and purple: we would ride through the city in our chariots, triumphing over the conquered law and the suffrages of the citizens: we would have no bounds set to our expenses; no control upon our luxury.

“ You have often, Romans, heard me complaining of the profuseness both of the women and the men, not only of private men, but even of the magistrates: and that the city is infected with two very different vices, covetousness and luxury; plagues which have been the ruin of all great empires. The republic becomes daily more flourishing: we have now passed into Greece and Asia, countries full of temptations to ungovernable appetites; and begin to handle the treasures of kings: I am much

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\* See vol.  
iv. ch. xxii.



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sulship.

afraid lest these riches get a more absolute power over us than we have obtained over them.

“In the memory of our fathers, Pyrrhus, by his ambassador Cyneas, attempted to corrupt with bribes not only the men but the women. There was then no Oppian law to restrain the luxury of women: yet none of them yielded to the temptation. And what do you think was the cause? The same which our ancestors had for not making any law relating to this matter: there was no luxury to be restrained. Should some Cyneas now go about the city with his bribes, he would find women enough standing in every street to receive them openly.

“There are some desires which I can by no means account for. A little shame or indignation may perhaps naturally arise at our being restrained from what others are indulged in; but why should it give you uneasiness to be dressed in the same manner as every body else must be dressed? It is indeed a very culpable shame to be ashamed of frugality or poverty: and, were it not, the law in the present case has secured you from all reproach. You are not so richly dressed as you could afford to be. Why? The law has forbid it. But, says a very fine lady, with a great deal of money at command, ‘Truly I have no notion of a law, that puts all people upon an equality. Why should not a woman of distinction be distinguished by wearing gold and purple? Must people of no-

thing have their beggary screened by a law?—Romans, would you have an emulation of this kind prevail among your wives? Would you see the richer coveting to have what none else can purchase? and the poorer, for fear of being despised, making efforts in expense beyond their ability? She who once begins to blush for doing what she ought, will quickly come to do, without blushing, what she ought not. What she can purchase with her own money she will; what she cannot purchase, she will ask of her husband. Unhappy is the husband if he grants, more unhappy if he refuses; for another will give her what he denies.

“When your wives’ expenses are no longer limited by law, you yourselves will never be able to set bounds to them. To imagine that things will be upon the same footing as before the law was enacted, is a vain thought. A wicked man should never be accused, or not absolved; and luxury unmolested would have been more tolerable than now, when, after being provoked, as a wild beast by chains, it is let loose again to range at pleasure.”

Two of the tribunes, both of the Junian family, and both bearing the name of Brutus, seconded Cato, and spoke against the repeal. Then Valerius, who had undertaken to be the ladies’ advocate, rose up. “If, Romans, our petition had been opposed by private persons only, I should have waited in silence for your determination: but when the consul, M. Porcius, a man, the dignity of whose office and

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character, had he said nothing, would alone be of great weight in the opposition, has in a long and elaborate speech inveighed against our motion, I think it incumbent on me to make some answer. And let me first of all observe, that the consul has spent more time in bitterly reproving the women, than in giving reasons why our petition should not be granted. That he ladies have presumed publicly to solicit you to repeal, in a time of peace and prosperity, a law made against them during the war, and in a time of adversity, he is pleased to call a mobbing, a sedition, and sometimes a secession of the women : hyperbolical words, merely to exaggerate the matter ! for we know, that M. Cato, always a weighty speaker, is sometimes a severe one too ; though doubtless a very good-natured man. What is there new in this proceeding of the women ? Did they never appear in public before ? Look, Marcus, into your own book de Originibus ; you will there see that they have often appeared, and always for the public good : go back to the days of Romulus, to the bloody conflict between the Roman and Sabine armies in the middle of the Forum ; call to mind that critical period, when total destruction hung over Rome from Marcius Coriolanus at the head of the Volscian legions ; and many other occasions where the women's appearing in public has proved of public utility. What they have often done for the common interest, shall we wonder if they now do, in an affair which particularly concerns themselves ?



“ As to the law in question ; is it one of the ancient laws of the kings, or of the twelve tables ; a law, without which our ancestors thought it impossible to preserve decency among the women ? No such thing : it is a law of about twenty years standing, enacted in the consulship of Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius : and as, before it took place, the women behaved themselves irreproachably for many ages, why must we suppose, that, upon the abrogation of it, they will abandon themselves to luxury ? That it was not made with a view to bridle their extravagance, the time when it was enacted is a sufficient proof. Hannibal had gained a great victory at Cannæ : he was in possession of Tarentum, Arpi, and Capua, and threatened even Rome with a siege : our allies had revolted : we had no soldiers for the levies, no seamen for the fleet, no money in the treasury : we were obliged to buy slaves to recruit our troops, the price to be paid at the end of the war : the publicans, upon a promise of being reimbursed at the same time, furnished corn and other necessaries for the army : private people, at their own expense, supplied the fleet with sailors and rowers : all orders of men lent their gold and silver to the public : the widows and orphans brought their money into the treasury. Were the ladies at that time so taken up with dress and finery, that the Opian law was wanted to restrain their luxury ? Were not the sacrifices to Ceres long deferred, because the women were all in mourning ?

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And did not the senate, for that reason, confine the term of mourning to thirty days? Who does not see that the want and misery of the city were the occasion of this law, and that it was designed to continue no longer in force than the reason of it should continue? The men of all ranks feel the effects of the happy change of public affairs; and shall the women not participate of the fruits of peace and tranquillity? Shall the men wear purple? Shall the priests, the magistrates, both of Rome and of the colonies, shall even our children wear it? Shall the dead be wrapped in purple? And shall your wives not be permitted to have a purple cloak? You are allowed to have purple in the furniture of your horses. Shall your horses be more sumptuously adorned than your wives? And as to gold, why may not their trinkets be considered as a fund to supply the wants of the public on great emergencies? They have formerly so proved.

“ Cato says, there will be no emulation, in point of dress, among the women of Rome, if they are all under the same restrictions. But what a spirit of envy and indignation will it raise in every Roman woman, when she sees those ornaments, which she is forbid to wear, allowed to the Latine women? Sees them shining in gold and purple, and riding in chariots through the streets, while she is obliged to follow on foot, as if the seat of the empire were in the cities of our allies, not in Rome? Such a distinction might be felt even by men: how

extremely mortifying then must it be to female minds, which very small matters are sufficient to disturb! They can have no magistracies, no sacerdotal dignities, no triumphs, no spoils, nor trophies of war. Neatness, ornaments, elegant dress, these are the triumphs of women; in these they delight, in these they place their glory: our ancestors called these, *mundus muliebris*, the world, the every thing of woman. Are women to be always in mourning? What is a woman's mourning, but her not wearing gold and purple? And by what does she distinguish a day of public devotion and thanksgiving, from other days, but the finery of her dress? We are told, that if you repeal the Oppian law you will not, by your private authority, be able to restrain the women from any thing which that law forbids them to have; and that your daughters, wives, and sisters, will be less under your command. While fathers or husbands are alive, the subjection of women can never cease; and they themselves detest that liberty which is only to be acquired by their becoming widows and orphans. They had rather have their dress regulated by you than by the law. And ought it not to be your choice to hold them under your guardianship and protection, rather than in slavery? To be styled fathers and husbands, rather than masters?

“The consul, as I before observed, made use of some invidious expressions; a sedition, a secession of the women: as if they were just going to seize the sacred Mount, or the Aven-

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tine Hill, as the commons heretofore did in their anger. No, Romans, their weakness must submit to whatever you are pleased to determine: but the greater your power, the more moderate you ought to be in the use of it."

The debate lasted all the day, so that the putting the question was deferred to the next. Then the women, more impetuous than ever, besieged the houses of the two Brutus's, the only tribunes of the people in the opposition; and by irresistible importunity forced them to yield. The *comitia*, being thus at full liberty, repealed the Oppian law.

AND NOW a nobler career presented itself to the austere Cato than a war with women. He set out for Spain with a consular army, embarked at Luna in Hetruria, and landed at Rhoda [now Roses] in Catalonia. From thence he marched by land to Emporiæ, where he was met by the proconsul Helvius, who had just obtained a victory over the Spaniards.

To the consul came ambassadors from the king of the Ilergetes, a nation well affected to the Romans, praying, that five thousand men might be sent to protect his kingdom, that was threatened by the enemy with a general devastation. Cato, perplexed at this demand, because unwilling either to desert his allies, or to divide his army, after a whole night's deliberation thought of this expedient. He told the ambassadors, he would risk his own safety for the interest of their master; and accordingly gave orders for equipping some galleys to trans-

Frontin.  
Strat. B. 4.  
c. 7.

port the succours desired. The rumour of these preparations being spread far, the enemy were seized with terror, and hastily left the country of the Ilergetes. As for the detachment, it embarked, sailed a little way, and then, under pretence of contrary winds, returned to the port from whence it had set out.


Cato's troops consisting for the most part of raw soldiers, it was necessary to take some pains to discipline them; and the more, as they had to do with the Spaniards, naturally brave and resolute, and, by their wars with the Carthaginians and Romans, much improved in the military art. The consul was just such a general as his army wanted; a pattern of vigilance, sobriety, and indefatigable constancy in labour; his dress always plain, his provisions the same with those of the common soldiers.

When he had formed his army to his wishes, he took the field, and obtained a complete victory over the enemy. And in order to keep the Spaniards in obedience for the future, he made use of the following artifice. He wrote private letters to the commanders of many of the fortified towns, ordering them to demolish their fortifications immediately, and threatening revenge, in case of disobedience. Each of those commanders being ignorant of the orders sent to the rest, and dreading the consul's resentment, they all, without delay, beat down their walls and towers; so that most of the towns in the Hither Province were dismantled in one day. In short, Cato settled Spain in such

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tranquillity and order, that the senate did not think it necessary to send a new consular army thither.

ABOUT the time that Cato left Rome to go into Spain, letters came from Carthage, giving advice that Hannibal was in secret intelligence with the king of Syria, and forming designs against the Romans. These letters were sent by the enemies of the Barchine faction, whom Hannibal, lately prætor or chief magistrate of Carthage, had highly provoked, by some acts, agreeable to the people, and beneficial to the commonwealth. It had been the custom for the judges to hold their offices for life. This gave them the chief sway in the republic; and they were tyrannical in the exercise of their authority. As the quæstors, after the expiration of their office, became judges of course, this prospect of future greatness had so raised the pride of a certain quæstor (of the opposite faction) that he refused to appear on a summons sent him by the prætor. Hannibal, resenting the affront, caused some officers to seize the quæstor; and, bringing him before the assembly of the people, not only complained of his insolence, but of the mischief the state suffered by having perpetual judges; and he obtained a decree that the judges for the future should be chosen annually.

Nor was this the only act for the public good, by which the prætor increased the number of his enemies among the nobles. Those who had the management of the public money, had



embezzled great part of it, so that there was not sufficient to pay the Romans the stipulated tribute; and a new tax was going to be laid for this purpose. Hannibal prevented the oppression: making inquiry after the embezzled money, he found enough to pay the Romans, without the burden of a new imposition. Scipio, knowing these things, is said to have defended the Carthaginian in the senate of Rome, urging that it was below the dignity of the Roman people to list themselves amongst Hannibal's personal enemies, and take part in the factions of Carthage. The conscript fathers, notwithstanding Scipio's remonstrance, sent thither C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culleo, to accuse Hannibal, in the senate, of holding correspondence with Antiochus. These ambassadors, by the advice of Hannibal's enemies, gave out, on their arrival, that they were come to adjust some differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. Hannibal, nevertheless, had too much penetration not to see into the real designs of the Romans. On the day when he purposed to make his escape, having appeared in public, as was his daily custom, he left Carthage about the dusk of the evening, in his town dress, accompanied by only two persons, both ignorant of his determination. He had appointed horses to be in readiness at a certain place, whence riding all night, he came to a tower of his own by the sea-side. There he had a ship furnished with all things requisite, as having long fore-

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seen the present necessity. Thus Hannibal took his leave of Africa, lamenting, says Livy, the misfortunes of his country more than his own. Passing over to the isle of Cercina, he found there in the haven some merchant ships of Carthage. The masters saluted him respectfully; and the chief among them inquiring whither he was bound, he answered, he was going ambassador to Tyre. He then invited all the merchants and masters of ships to a sacrifice; and it being hot weather, he would by all means hold his feast upon the shore; whither, because there wanted shade, he desired them to bring all their sails and yards to be used instead of tents. They did so, and feasted with him till it was late at night, and they fell asleep. He then left them, and, putting to sea, held on his course to Tyre. All the remainder of that night, and the day following, he was sure not to be pursued; for neither would the merchants be in haste to send news of him to Carthage, as thinking he was gone ambassador from the state; neither could they get away from Cercina, without some expense of time, in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the disappearing of so great a man raised various conjectures. Some guessed rightly, that he was fled; but the greater part believed, that the Romans had made away with him. At length news came, that he had been seen in Cercina. The Roman ambassadors, having now no other business, accused him (with an ill grace) as an enemy to peace. They said,

it was well known, that he had heretofore stirred up king Philip to make war upon the Romans, and had lately by letters and emissaries been urging Antiochus to the like measures. They added, that if the Carthaginians would satisfy the people of Rome, they must make it appear, that these things were not done by their authority, or with their approbation. To this it was answered, that Carthage would do whatever the Romans should think equitable. [It is probable, she, at this time, passed sentence of banishment against the most illustrious citizen she could ever boast of.]

Hannibal coming to Tyre, the mother city of Carthage, was received and entertained in a manner suitable to the dignity of his character. From thence he went to Antioch; but made no stay there, the king being just gone to Ephesus. Thither he followed him, and found him wavering between peace and war.

UPON the report of the plenipotentiaries who had concluded the peace with Macedon, the Roman senate had judged it necessary that Flaminius should continue proconsul in Greece. They now began to make preparations for a war with Antiochus; and as there was reason to suspect, that Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, would side with the king, orders were sent to the proconsul immediately to attack Nabis, if he thought it for the interest of the republic. Flaminius, in execution of these orders, having convened a diet at Corinth, at which deputies from all the Greek nations were present,

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Livy, B. 33.  
c. 43.

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B. 34. c. 22.



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proposed to them the recovering Argos out of the hands of Nabis. He represented to the assembly, that in the war with Philip, which the Romans and Greeks had jointly carried on, they had each their motives apart ; but in the enterprise which he now suggested, the Romans had no other interest than the honour of perfecting the liberty of Greece, which must be deemed incomplete, so long as the noble and ancient city of Argos remained under the domination of a tyrant. “ But (said he) it belongs to you to determine in this affair ; and if neither a concern for that city, nor the danger of such an example, (the contagion of which may spread) has any weight with you, we shall acquiesce.” The Athenian deputy hereto made a very eloquent answer, and in terms as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the Romans for what was past, and highly extolled the generosity of their present proposal, whereby, unrequested, they freely offered to continue that bounty which, at the earnest desire of their associates, they had lately extended to all Greece. To this he added, that great pity it was to hear such noble virtue and high deserts ill spoken of by some, who took upon them to foretel what harm those their benefactors meant to do hereafter, whereas gratitude would rather have required an acknowledgment of the benefits already received. Every one saw that these last words were directed against the Ætolians. Wherefore Alexander, the prætor of that nation, rising up, reproached the Athe-

nians, that they, whose ancestors used to be the foremost in the defence of the general liberty, were now fallen so low, as to betray the common cause by flattery and base compliances. He then inveighed against the Achæans, who, he said, had been soldiers to Philip till they deserted and ran away from his adversity: that they had got Corinth for themselves, and would now have a war undertaken for their sakes, that they might be lords also of Argos; while the Ætolians, who first engaged in the war with Philip, and had always been friends to the Romans, were defrauded of some places which anciently and of right belonged to them. Neither did Alexander stop here. He accused the Romans of fraud in keeping garrisons in Chalcis, Demetrias, and the citadel of Corinth, though they had always professed, that Greece could never be in liberty while those places were not free. “And what else (said he) do they seek by a war with Nabis, but a pretext to continue their armies in this country? Let them withdraw their legions and evacuate Greece, which cannot indeed be free till their departure; and as to Nabis, the Ætolians will undertake, if he do not voluntarily give up Argos, to compel him by force of arms to submit to the good pleasure of all Greece, now at unity.” This boasting of the Ætolians raised the indignation of the other Greeks, especially the Achæans, who called them robbers, a race worse than barbarian, that had nothing Greek but their language, as they had nothing human but their

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shape. Flaminius said, he would have answered the Ætolians if there had been any occasion for it; but that he was perfectly content with what he saw was the general opinion concerning the Romans and them.

In conclusion, the whole assembly, except the Ætolians, concurred in determining upon a war with Nabis, in case he refused to deliver up Argos to the Achæans.

When all things were ready for marching, ambassadors arrived from Antiochus, to propose a treaty of alliance with Rome. Flaminius answered, that they must address themselves to the Roman senate; for the ten commissioners being absent, he could say nothing to the matter. He then advanced towards Argos, expecting, according to some assurances that had been given him, that, upon his near approach, there would be an insurrection in the town, by which he should easily become master of it. Finding these hopes disappointed, he resolved, instead of besieging that place, to march straight to Lacedæmon, and crush the tyrant at once. All preparations were made for this attempt; and his brother Quinctius, the admiral of the Roman fleet, appeared off the Lacedæmonian coasts with forty ships of war.

Nabis, struck with terror at the approach of these sea and land forces against him, augmented the number of his troops, fortified his capital, and massacred fourscore of the principal men in it, whom he suspected of disaffec-



tion to him. Flaminius marched to the banks of the Eurotas, and from thence ravaged the country to the walls of Lacedæmon, while his brother Quinctius, after having reduced some towns on the sea-coast, laid siege to Gythium, a strong city which might be called the port of Lacedæmon, and the repository of all its riches. Here he met with so vigorous a resistance, that though he was joined by the Rhodians with eighteen galleys, and by king Eumenes with forty, he would have been forced to raise the siege, if the proconsul had not seasonably come to his assistance with four thousand men: upon their appearance the besieged immediately capitulated.

The surrendry of Gythium broke Nabis's measures; he sent to Flaminius, and asked a conference in order to a peace. They met in a plain which lay between Lacedæmon and the Roman camp. The king spoke first, and desired to know "for what cause the Romans made war upon him; for he was quite ignorant of it. It could not be (he said) on account of the tyranny and cruelty they charged him with, he being the very same man now as when he and they became friends and allies, and joined in the war against Philip: that Flaminius then called him king, not tyrant. Neither could it be because he held Argos: for he was in possession of that city when he made a league with the Romans, and was left in possession of it by the treaty. In a word, he had done nothing since his alliance with Rome con-

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trary to his engagements." All this seems to have been very true: for the proconsul was reduced, in his answer, to deny that he had made any league with Nabis; arguing, that it would have been quite improper and indecent for the Romans, when making war against Philip for the liberty of Greece, to contract a friendship with a tyrant, the most outrageous that ever was; [from whence it followed, that no such friendship had been contracted.] Nothing was done the first day towards a peace. The next Nabis offered to give up Argos, and restore all the allies their deserters; adding, that if the Romans had any other pretensions, they should be given him in writing, that he might consult with his friends. To this Flamininus agreed; and going back to his camp, assembled the chiefs of the confederates. The greater part of them were for pursuing Nabis to the last extremities; but the proconsul wanted to finish matters with the tyrant, that he might return to Rome with the glory of having completed the deliverance of all Greece; he was afraid lest a successor should arrive and rob him of some part of that honour. However, finding the chiefs of the allies very obstinate and importunate, he at length pretended to come into their opinion; but told them, that, as the siege would probably be long, great sums of money, great store of provisions, and materials for engines of war would be needful; and pressed them to send immediately to their respective cities for these necessaries, before the

roads grew bad. This cooled their ardour for the siege: knowing the difficulty they should have to raise the sums proposed, without alienating the minds of their people from them by new taxes, they left the proconsul at full liberty to settle the terms of peace. He then sent his demands in writing to Nabis. The tyrant was not only to evacuate Argos, and give up all deserters, but to surrender immediately to the Romans all the places he held in Crete: he was to have no more than two galleys, of sixteen oars each, in his service; build no cities nor castles in the territories of others, nor even in his own; give the proconsul five hostages, such as he should choose, of whom the tyrant's own son should be one; and, lastly, pay down a hundred talents, and thereafter fifty talents annually for eight years.

When the tyrant had read the conditions to the Lacedæmonians assembled in the market-place, and asked them what answer he should give the proconsul, the multitude cried out, "Give him no answer at all: pursue the war." These clamours were very agreeable to Nabis, and he prepared to sustain a siege. Lacedæmon was not entirely surrounded by a wall. Lycurgus would have no fortification to the city, but the bodies of the citizens. The Spartan tyrants afterwards raised walls, at certain distances, in those places where they were most wanted. The Romans attacked the town with fifty thousand men, and forced their way into it at the openings between the walls. Nabis

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was so terrified, that he thought only of making his escape : but his son-in-law Pythagoras, who had more presence of mind, causing the houses to be set on fire in all places where the Romans had entered, this obliged them to retire. Nevertheless, the tyrant sent Pythagoras to the proconsul with an offer to submit to those conditions of peace which he had before rejected. Flaminius at first received the ambassador with scorn, and ordered him out of his tent ; Pythagoras, however, throwing himself at his feet, obtained by many entreaties what the other was very desirous to grant. As for Argos, the cause of the war, it had already recovered its liberty ; the Argives had taken arms, and driven the garrison out of the town.

Notwithstanding that Greece was thus entirely quieted, the proconsul continued there all the winter. He was honoured with the office of president at the Nemæan games, where, by his orders, a herald proclaimed liberty to Argos. The Achæans, though pleased to have that city reunited to their state, were yet somewhat dissatisfied to see Lacedæmon left in slavery. And as for the Ætôlians, they (finding fault with the peace, as they had before found fault with the war) openly and loudly spoke of it in the harshest terms, that the Lacedæmonians were suffered to continue under the domination of Nabis, though their lawful king (Agesipolis) was in the Roman camp : and that while the noblest of their citizens, expelled by the tyrant, must live in banishment, the Roman people

made themselves his guards to support him in his tyranny.

AT Rome, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus and T. Sempronius Longus were raised to the consulate. Scipio had hoped either to succeed Cato, and finish the Spanish war, or to be sent to the Levant against the king of Syria; but the Spaniards were already quelled, and the senate did not yet think it a proper season to commence a war with Antiochus. Sempronius made a campaign in Gaul against the Boii.

Flamininus, proposing to return this summer to Italy, assembled at Corinth the chiefs of the Greek cities, and there recounted to them all that the generals, his predecessors, and he himself had done in Greece, from the time that the Romans first entered that country. Every thing he said was highly applauded, till he came to mention the affair of Nabis. And though he alleged, in justification of his conduct, that he could not destroy the tyrant without ruining Lacedæmon, this did not satisfy the assembly. In conclusion he declared to them, that he was going to leave Greece, and would, before his departure, withdraw his garrisons from Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias; by which it would be evident to all the world, that the Ætolians lied, when they said “the Greeks had only changed masters, and that the Romans had driven Philip out of the country, that they themselves might tyrannize there.” He exhorted the several states to judge of their friends only by their actions; use their liberty with moderation; and pre-

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Livy, B. 34.  
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serve concord among themselves, as the best security against kings and tyrants. "When a state (said he) is divided, the weaker party, rather than submit to their own countrymen, will call in the assistance of foreigners. Be careful to maintain that liberty which strangers have procured you, and let not the Romans have cause to think that they have misplaced their benefits and their friendship." This discourse, (says Livy) which seemed to flow from a father-like affection, drew tears from the eyes of many of the assembly; and they exhorted one another to remember and regard Flamininus's advice as the dictates of an oracle. In testimony of their gratitude, they sought for all the Romans who were reduced to slavery in Greece, and delivered them up to him, to the number of twelve hundred: the greatest part of these had been prisoners of war whom Hannibal had sold. After this Flamininus returned to Rome, and was honoured with a triumph which lasted three days.

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IN the beginning of the next year, when L. Cornelius Merula and Q. Minucius Thermus had the consular fasces, ambassadors came to Rome from Antiochus, and several kings and states of Asia and Greece. They were all favourably heard by the senate, except those from the king of Syria. Upon a pretence, that the affair with him was intricate, his ministers were referred to Flamininus and the ten commissioners, who, together with him, had settled the affairs of Greece. They came to a confer-



ence. Menippus, one of the two chiefs of the Syrian embassy, said, he wondered what intricacy there could be in their proposals, since all they asked was a treaty of amity and alliance with Rome. He added, that there were three kinds of leagues: one between the victorious and the vanquished; another between states that had made war upon each other with equal advantage; and a third between such as had never been enemies. That as a league with Antiochus must belong to this last kind, he was surprised the Romans would think of treating his master like a vanquished prince; and prescribe to him what cities of Asia he should set at liberty, and from what cities he might exact tribute. To this Flamininus answered, that since Menippus went so distinctly to work, he would as distinctly tell him the conditions, without which the Romans would have no treaty with the king of Syria. "Antiochus must either keep out of Europe, or be content that the Romans interest themselves in protecting the cities of Asia." Hegesianax, the other chief of the embassy, replied, with indignation, that it was monstrous to think of expelling Antiochus from the cities of Thrace and the Chersonesus, which his ancestor Seleucus had with great glory conquered from Lysimachus, and which the king himself had with no less glory recovered from the Thracians; that there was a wide difference, in point of justice, between the Romans despoiling him of his lawful possessions, and his requiring the Romans not to concern

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themselves with Asia, which had never been theirs : that Antiochus indeed desired an alliance with Rome, but upon honourable, not disgraceful conditions. To this Flamininus : “ Since in the present affair we are to consider what is glorious, (as indeed it ought to be the first, if not the sole consideration with a people the most renowned of any in the world, and with so great a king<sup>2</sup>) tell me, which is more glorious, to desire the liberty of all the Greek cities, wheresoever they are; or to desire to keep them under tribute and in slavery? If Antiochus judges it for his glory, once more to enslave the towns which his ancestor conquered in war, but which neither his father nor his grandfather ever possessed; the Roman people think it becoming their honour and steadiness, not to desert the Greeks, whose patronage they have undertaken: and as they have already delivered the Greek cities that were under the domination of Philip, so they now intend to set at liberty those that are in subjection to Antiochus. Colonies were not sent into Æolis and Ionia to be held in slavery by kings, but to propagate the race of the Greeks, and spread that ancient nation over the world.” The Sy-

<sup>2</sup> All the provinces of Asia, from the eastern borders of Media to Æolis and Ionia, were subject to Antiochus. He had lately made himself master of Cælo-Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria, and, in short, of all the country quite to Egypt. In Europe he held Thrace and the Chersonesus. He had three sons old enough to succeed him in the throne, and four daughters marriageable, by whom he might procure formidable alliances.

rian ambassadors answered, that they neither would nor could agree to any thing that tended to a diminution of their master's dominions.

Next day, Flaminius having made a report of the affair to the senate, in presence of the ambassadors from Greece and Asia, the conscript fathers desired the Asiatics to tell their respective cities, that unless Antiochus quitted Europe, Rome would assert their liberty against him, with the same courage and the same fidelity, with which she had defended the European Greeks against Philip. Menippus begged the senate would not be hasty to pass a decree which must set the whole world in arms ; that they would take time themselves, and allow the king time to consider ; that perhaps Antiochus might obtain some mitigation of the conditions, or yield some points for the sake of peace. The fathers agreed to defer the matter ; and sent to the king of Syria the same ambassadors who had been with him at Lysimachia, P. Sulpicius, P. Villius, and P. Ælius.

Scarce had these set out from Rome, when deputies arrived from Carthage, with accounts, that the Syrian was certainly preparing for war, and that Hannibal excited him to it. The Carthaginian had indeed been very favourably received by Antiochus, who looked upon him as the ablest counsellor he could have in a war against the Romans.

As to the method of carrying on this enterprise, Hannibal was always of one and the same opinion. He asserted, that the Romans

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Justin. B.  
31. c. 3, 5.  
Livy, B. 34.  
c. 60.  
App. in  
Syr. o. 90.



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were invincible every where but in Italy. To attack them in that country was, he said, like stopping a river at the fountain head. The arms of the Italians would then be turned against themselves, and they overcome by their own strength; which were they left at liberty to employ abroad, no king nor nation would be a match for them. He added, that his own example furnished a proof of this; who, so long as he continued in Italy, was never vanquished by the Romans, but that his fortune changed with the scene of action. He therefore advised Antiochus to trust him with the command of a hundred galleys, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. With this fleet he proposed to sail first to Africa, in hopes the Carthaginians might be prevailed on to enter into a confederacy with the king. If they refused, he would nevertheless make a descent in some part of Italy, and there rekindle a war against the Romans. Antiochus approving this advice, Hannibal, to sound his countrymen, sent one Aristobolus, a Tyrian, to Carthage; giving him private tokens to his friends, but no letters, lest his business should be discovered. The Tyrian however was suspected, on account of his frequent visits to those of the Barchine faction; and was cited to appear before the senate of Carthage. Some were for imprisoning him as a spy, but others represented the ill consequences of such a proceeding, when they had no evidence against the accused; it would be a discouragement to traders, the Tyrians might

make reprisals, and all foreigners would take umbrage. These considerations suspended their resolution, and in the meantime Aristo made his escape. Before he went off, he used a policy to extricate Hannibal's friends. In the dusk of the evening he stole into the hall, where public audiences were given, and over the president's seat affixed a writing which contained these words: "Aristo had no orders to treat with private persons, but with the senate of Carthage." The stratagem succeeded, for it prevented an inquiry after any particular men as corresponding with Hannibal. However, the African republic thought it proper to send an embassy to Rome, to inform the consuls and senate of what had happened, and at the same time to complain of some usurpations of Masinissa on the lands of Carthage. The king, taking advantage of Hannibal's absence, and of the new heats arisen on his account, had invaded the fine maritime country called Emporia, in which the city of Leptis yielded the Carthaginians the tribute of a talent\* a day; and knowing that they had sent complaints of him to Rome, he despatched ambassadors thither to vindicate himself. The senate were prejudiced against the Carthaginians, because they had neither put Aristo nor his ship under arrest, and had thereby afforded him means to escape. When their ambassadors came to be heard, they urged that Emporia was within the bounds set them by Scipio Africanus, and that Masinissa himself had lately acknowledged their

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Livy, B. 43.  
c. 62.  
\* 193*l.* 15*s.*  
Arbuthnot.

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title to that country, by asking their leave to pass through it, in pursuit of a rebel, who had fled out of his kingdom to Cyrene. The Numidian ambassadors confidently answered, that the Carthaginians lied, as to the bounds marked out by Scipio. "If rights (said they) are narrowly inquired into, what title have the Carthaginians to any land in Africa? They are strangers in that country, who [about seven hundred years ago] had leave given them to build upon as much ground as they could compass with an ox's hide. Whatever they hold beyond those bounds has been acquired by force and injustice. As to the territory in question, they cannot prove that they have continued possessed of it from the time that they first conquered it, or even for any considerable time together. It was held sometimes by the kings of Numidia; sometimes by the Carthaginians, just as the fortune of the frequent wars between them happened to decide." The ambassadors concluded with desiring, that Emporia might be left on the same footing as it was before the Carthaginians were enemies to Rome, or the king of Numidia her friend; and that the Romans would not interfere in the dispute. The senate answered, that they would send commissioners into Africa to determine the affair on the spot. Scipio Africanus, Cornelius Cethegus, and Minucius Rufus, being accordingly despatched thither, heard the matter discussed, but made no decree in favour of either party. Whether they acted thus of their own head, or



by order of the senate, is not so certain, says Livy, as it is, that they suited their conduct to the state of affairs at home ; otherwise Scipio alone could have ended the dispute by a word. But Polybius tells us, that the Romans always gave sentence against the Carthaginians, not because these were always in the wrong, but because it was the interest of the judges to give such sentence. As to the present dispute, he says, Masinissa had seized upon the lands of Emporia, but could not take the fortified towns ; and that after many embassies to Rome from both parties, the Carthaginians were not only deprived of the lands and towns in question, but obliged to pay 500 talents\* for the profits they had received from thence, since the time that Masinissa made his claim.

The Roman arms prospered this year in Spain, under the prætor Scipio Nasica ; and in Gaul the consul Merula obtained a complete victory over the Boii near Mutina.

THERE never was a stronger competition for the consulship than now. Three patricians and four plebeians, all men of great note, professed themselves candidates. Of the former, Scipio Nasica, so famous for his virtue, and who had lately signalized himself in Spain, was supported by his cousin-german the great Scipio ; and Quinctius, the late successful admiral in Greece, recommended by his brother Flaminius : the plebeians were, Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, Cn. Domitius, Ænobarbus, C. Livius, Salinator, and Man. Acilius Glabrio.

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two.

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sulship.  
Legat. 118.

\* 96,875*l*.  
Arbutnot.

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One hun-  
dred ninety-  
two.

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It was natural to suppose, that the greatest man in the republic would gain the majority of suffrages in favour of those he espoused: yet, strange as it may appear, Flaminius had a better interest than Scipio. Scipio's glory was the greater, but it was therefore exposed to greater envy. And as he had long resided at Rome, the people, familiarized to the sight of him, had lost much of their first admiration. Besides, they had already rewarded him with the consulship and censorship, since his return from Africa. Flaminius, on the other hand, had of late been little seen at Rome; his victories and his triumph were recent; he solicited in behalf of a brother, his partner in the war, and had neither asked nor obtained any favour since his return from Greece. L. Quinctius was declared consul with Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, and the great Scipio had the double mortification of not succeeding either for his cousin or his friend.

#### CHAP. IV.

*The Ætolians and Nabis raise commotions in Greece.—Antiochus determines on a war with Rome. He is jealous of Hannibal.—Nabis assassinated.—Antiochus lands in Thessaly; Flaminius defeats his endeavour to bring the Achæans to a neutrality. Hannibal's advice to the king.*

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dred ninety-  
one.

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EVER since the departure of Flaminius from Greece, the Ætolians had been endeavouring to raise up new enemies against Rome; though true policy would have made them cautious of giving the Romans any pretence of returning

into that country. Having chosen one Thoas, a factious man, for their chief, they resolved, in a general diet of the nation, to shake off their alliance with the republic, and form a confederacy against her. To this end they despatched deputies to Philip, Nabis, and Antiochus. The Macedonian and Syrian were not hasty in coming to a determination; but Nabis immediately took arms, and besieged Gythium.

The king of Syria about this time celebrated the nuptials of his daughter Cleopatra with Ptolemy Epiphanes; he married his second daughter to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia; and offered his third to Eumenes<sup>1</sup>, king of Pergamus,

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Joseph. B.  
12. c. 3.  
App. in  
Syriac. 88.

<sup>1</sup> The founder of the kingdom of Pergamus was one Philetærus, a eunuch, who belonged to Docimus, a Macedonian officer in the army of Antigonus the First. After the death of Antigonus, Philetærus accompanied his master, who went over to Lysimachus, king of Thrace. Lysimachus gave him the charge of his treasures, which he had laid up in the castle of Pergamus. Philetærus was for some time faithful to his trust, but dreading the intrigues of Arsinoe (the wife of Lysimachus) who hated him, he offered the castle and the treasures to Seleucus Nicator, then at war with Lysimachus. The latter being slain in battle, and Seleucus dying soon after, Philetærus retained Pergamus, with the country round about it, and reigned there as king (though without the title) twenty years. He had two brothers, the eldest of whom had a son named Eumenes, and to him Philetærus left Pergamus. This Eumenes, by some victories he gained over the kings of Syria, not only secured to himself the possession of what his uncle had left him, but also made several new acquisitions. When he had governed two and twenty years, he died of a debauch; leaving his dominions to Attalus, the son of Attalus, the youngest brother of Philetærus.

Strabo, B.  
13. p. 623.

<sup>1</sup> Attalus was greatly harassed by Achæus, who setting

Polyb. B.  
4. c. 48.



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one.

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sulship.

Claudius et  
Acilius Ap.  
Livy, B 35.  
c. 14. App.  
in Syr. c.  
90.

in hopes to draw him thereby from the interest of Rome : but Eumenes rejected the proposal, and chose rather to adhere to the Romans, believing that, sooner or later, they would be the conquerors, and well knowing that he must become a vassal to the Syrian, if the latter should prevail.

Early in the spring Antiochus marched from Ephesus to make war upon the Pisidians, and while he was engaged in this enterprise, Villius, the Roman ambassador, arrived at Ephesus. His colleague, Sulpicius, had fallen sick by the way, and was left at Pergamus. Scipio Africanus accompanied Villius, and, according to some authors, was in the embassy. Hannibal being then at Ephesus, the civilities that passed between him and the Romans, and the frequent conversations<sup>2</sup> he had with them, ren-

himself up as king against Antiochus the Great, reigned in the lesser Asia. Achæus invaded Pergamus, made himself master of the country, and besieged Attalus in his capital. But he was delivered by the Tectosagæ, a nation of the Gauls, whom he called out of Thrace, and recovered all he had lost. When these Gauls had once got footing in Asia, they laid the neighbouring countries under contribution, and at last would have forced Attalus to pay them tribute. Hereupon he took the field against them, defeated them in battle, and obliged them to confine themselves within that province, which from them took the name of Galatiâ. After his victory, Attalus assumed the title of king, and joined with the Romans and other allies in the war against Philip of Macedon, as has been before related. He was succeeded in the throne by his son the present Eumenes.

<sup>2</sup> It is reported, that Scipio one day asked the Carthaginian, "Whom he thought the greatest general?" Hannibal immediately declared for Alexander, because with

dered him suspected by Antiochus. Villius went to Apamea, and there had an audience of the king. The Roman insisted upon the same terms which Flaminius had prescribed to the Syrian ambassadors. The conference was a small body of men he had defeated very numerous armies, and had overrun a great part of the world. "And who do you think deserves the second place?" continued the Roman. "Pyrrhus," replied the other: "He first taught the method of forming a camp to the best advantage. Nobody knew better how to choose ground, or post guards more properly. Besides, he had the art of conciliating to him the affections of men; insomuch, that the Italian nations chose rather to be subject to him, though a foreigner and a king, than to the Roman people, who had so long held the principality in that country." Thus Scipio was twice mortified; but still he went on, "And whom do you place next to those?" Hannibal named himself; at which Scipio smiled, and said, "Where then would you have placed yourself if you had conquered me?" To which the Carthaginian readily replied, "Above Alexander."

Plutarch, in his life of Pyrrhus, makes Hannibal give Pyrrhus the first place, Scipio the second, and himself the third, without mentioning Alexander; but in his life of Flaminius, Hannibal gives Alexander the first place, Pyrrhus the second, and himself the third.

It is also related, that while Hannibal was at Ephesus, he went, upon the invitation of some of his acquaintance, to hear the lectures of a celebrated peripatetic philosopher, named Phormio. The philosopher, who was a most copious speaker, entertained him for several hours (knowing his profession and character) with a discourse on the duties of a general, and the whole extent of the military art. All the rest of the audience were beyond measure delighted; and some of them asked Hannibal, "What he thought of their philosopher?" The Carthaginian frankly answered, that he had met with many a silly old fellow, but so very a dotard as this he had never seen before.


*Cicer. de Orat. l. 2. c. 18.*

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C. Acilius  
Ap.

Livy, B. 35,  
c. 14.

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one.  
  
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sulship.  
Livy, B. 35.  
c. 15.

warm, but not long; for the sudden news which the king received, at this time, of his son Antiochus's death, put an end to it. A suspicion prevailed, that the father, jealous of the young prince's rising merit, had caused him to be poisoned; and though this suspicion had no good foundation, it was necessary for the king to destroy it by the appearances of an extraordinary grief. He therefore, without concluding any thing, dismissed Villius, who returned to Pergamus.

Antiochus gave over all thoughts of the Pisdian war, and went to Ephesus; where, under pretence of desiring solitude in his affliction, he shut himself up in his palace with his favourite, Minio. This courtier, who knew little of foreign affairs, but had great confidence in his own abilities, pressed the king to send for the Roman ambassadors to Ephesus, and undertook so to manage the argument as to leave them nothing to say. Antiochus, wearied with fruitless conferences, and thinking that his mourning would be a good excuse for treating with the Romans by his minister, approved the motion, and sent for Villius and his colleagues. The amount of Minio's logic was this: that his master had as good a title to the obedience of the Eastern Greeks, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the Romans had to that of the Western Greeks in Italy and Sicily. Sulpicius answered: that if the king had nothing better to offer for his cause, it was indeed but what modesty required, that he should choose to have his cause pleaded by any body



rather than himself. "What similitude (said he) is there between the two cases? Ever since our conquest of the Neapolitans, Tarentines, and other Italic Greeks, our tenure has been perpetual and uninterrupted; but can you say the same of Antiochus's dominion over the Asiatic Greeks? Why, at your rate of reasoning, we have been doing nothing in Greece: Philip's posterity may one day reclaim the possession of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. But what business have I to plead the cause of the Greek cities of Asia? their ambassadors are here; let us call them in." These ministers had been beforehand prepared and instructed by Eumenes, who was not without secret hopes, that he should get whatever was taken from Antiochus. There was great plenty of ambassadors; who being admitted, fell to making their complaints and demands, some right, some wrong; it was nothing but a scene of altercation and wrangling between them and Minio, neither party yielding any thing. The conference broke off; and the Romans returned home in all points as uncertain as they came. So writes Livy: but Appian reports, that the Syrian offered, as the price of an alliance with Rome, to restore all the Asiatic Greeks to their freedom, except the Ætolians and Ionians: a fruitless concession, because the Romans had not come with views of peace and amity, but only to inform themselves of the true state of affairs in Asia.

Soon after the ambassadors were gone, An-

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In Syr. §  
92.

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dred ninety-  
one.

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Antiochus called a council of the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as Syrians, to give their opinions concerning a war with the Romans. Hannibal only was not consulted: his familiarity with Scipio and Villius had made the king jealous of him. In council every one declared vehemently for a war: nay, Alexander of Acarnania, who had formerly served Philip, and was now in great favour with Antiochus, confidently promised the king victory, if he would pass into Greece, and make that country the seat of the war. Nabis and the Ætolians, he said, were already in arms; and Philip would take the field on the first sounding of the Syrian trumpets. He added, that much depended upon expedition; and therefore begged the king would hasten his departure; and in the meantime send Hannibal into Africa, to cause a diversion.

THE little regard showed to Hannibal, since his familiar intercourse with the Roman ambassadors, convinced him that the king had taken umbrage at that part of his conduct. At first the Carthaginian bore his disgrace in silence; but now, thinking it advisable to clear himself, he begged an audience of Antiochus. Being called into the council, he directly asked the king the reason of his displeasure; and, when he had heard it, expressed himself in the following manner: “I was scarce nine years old; when Amilcar, my father, at the time of a solemn sacrifice, led me to the altar, and made me swear, that, to my last breath, I would be

Livy, B. 35.  
c. 19.

Polyb. B.  
3. c. 11.

an irreconcilable enemy to the Roman nation. Under this oath I carried arms for six and thirty years; it was this which made me leave my country, when my country was in peace with Rome; it was this which brought me like a banished man into your dominions; and, under the conduct of the same oath, (if you disappoint my hopes) in whatever part of the earth I can hear of strength, wherever I can hear of arms, thither will I fly, in search of enemies to the Romans. If, therefore, any of your courtiers would raise their credit with you, by defaming me, they should invent some other crime, than my friendship to Rome. No; I hate the Romans, and am hated by them; and that I speak truth, I call the gods to witness, and the manes of Amilcar my father. Whensoever you are in earnest for a Roman war, reckon Hannibal among your surest friends; but if any thing constrain you to peace, in that affair you must seek some other counsellor." This discourse reconciled the king to Hannibal, at least for a time. The council unanimously determined for war.

Rome, upon the return of her ambassadors, sent a body of troops under the prætor Bæbius, to guard the eastern coast of Italy, and to be in readiness to embark for the Levant, if there should be occasion. She ordered two fleets to be fitted out, one for Sicily, the other for Greece; whither she also despatched Flamininus and three other senators, in quality of ambassadors. When they arrived in that country,

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Livy, B. 35.  
c. 20.

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dred nine-  
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Nabis was yet engaged in the siege of Gythium: He frequently detached parties to make incursions on the lands of the Achæans. These, fearing to begin a war without the approbation of Rome, wrote to Flaminius for his consent.

He counselled them to wait for the arrival of the Roman fleet, before they took arms. Nevertheless they held a general diet at Sicyon upon the affair; and the assembly, being divided in their sentiments, desired to know the opinion of Philopœmen, their president. He answered, "It is a wise institution among us, that our prætors should not declare their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your province to determine what shall be done; mine to execute your orders. And I will take all possible care, that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be peace or war." These words more powerfully inclined the diet to war, than if the president had openly declared for it. War they decreed, and gave the conduct of it to Philopœmen.

The first enterprize of this brave man was to relieve Gythium: he set sail for that port with what galleys he could get together; but being (as Livy says) a land officer, and not used to sea affairs, he failed in his attempt. He was defeated within sight of the place by the Lacedæmonian fleet. However, he soon retrieved his honour by two victories, which his able conduct gave him over the tyrant at land.

Whilst the Achæans carried on the war against the Lacedæmonians, the ambassadors

Livy, B. 35.  
c. 27.

from the Roman republic were busy in visiting the chief cities of Greece. The inhabitants of Demetrias had been informed, that Rome intended to restore to Philip his son Demetrius, and to put the king again into possession of their city, in order to prevent his joining with Antiochus; a rumour not altogether groundless. It was with some difficulty, therefore, that Flaminius could pacify them. He went thence to the diet of Ætolia, where Menippus, ambassador from Antiochus, had been introduced by Thoas, one of the chief authors of the Ætolian defection. The Roman in vain endeavoured to dissuade the assembly from calling the Syrians into Europe: they passed a decree, in his presence, for inviting Antiochus to come and restore the liberty of Greece. Flaminius demanding a copy of the decree, was answered by Damocritus the prætor, "We have affairs of greater moment to despatch; we shall tell you the purport of it on the banks of the Tiber."

After this the Ætolians took measures to seize three important cities; Demetrias in Thessaly, Lacedæmon<sup>3</sup> in Peloponnesus, and Chalcis in Eubœa. Diocles, Alexamenus, and Thoas, were the persons appointed for these expeditions.

<sup>3</sup> The Ætolians, in this enterprise upon Lacedæmon, seem to have been actuated by the apprehension of its falling into the hands of the Achæans, rather than enmity to Nabis, who was at this time engaged in the same cause with them. And Livy tells us, the tyrant was so hated by the Lacedæmonians, that there was reason to think they would attach themselves to whoever should destroy him.

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Livy, B. 35. c. 31.

c. 34.

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dred ninety-  
one.

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sulship.

The first got possession of Demetrias, through the treachery of one of the principal citizens. To surprise Lacedæmon, Alexamenus, with a thousand foot, and some young horsemen, went thither as carrying succours to Nabis.

The tyrant received them without suspicion: and their leader having insinuated to him, that it would be for his honour to have his troops well disciplined, and make a good appearance when Antiochus should arrive, he every day drew them out, and exercised them in a plain near the city. At one of these reviews Alexamenus assassinated him. Had the murderer harangued the Lacedæmonian soldiers during their first astonishment, it is probable they would have approved of the action; because the tyrant was hated: but the Ætolians hastened to plunder the royal palace, and this giving the Lacedæmonians time to recover themselves, they entered the city, massacred all the pillagers they met, and, among the rest, the infamous Alexamenus. Pilopœmen took advantage of this event, appeared with a body of troops before the town, and persuaded the inhabitants to resume their liberty. Accordingly, Lacedæmon from being a monarchy became a republic, and a part of the Achaian body.

Plut. Life  
of Philo-  
pœmen.  
Livy, B. 35.  
c. 37.

As for Thoas, he failed in his attempt upon Chalcis; the Eubœans were upon their guard, and adhered steadily to Rome. He went therefore straight to Antiochus; and as by the false reports he had spread in Greece, magnifying the king's strength, he had drawn over many

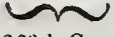


to his party; so now he deceived the king by what he told him of the disposition of the Greeks. He assured him, that all Greece was in motion; that the people universally desired and entreated his coming among them; and that his fleet would no sooner appear on the coast, but the shore would be crowded with soldiers to offer him their service. He added, that Demetrias, a town of great consequence, being at present in the Ætolian interest, he might there commodiously land his troops. At the same time he endeavoured to dissuade the Syrian from dividing his naval force; "but if a part of his fleet must be sent to Italy, the conduct of it, he said, ought to be given to any body, rather than to Hannibal. That he was an exile, and a Carthaginian, to whom fortune and his own restless disposition would be daily suggesting new projects. The very glory he had acquired in war, and for which he was courted, was too great for a lieutenant in the king's army; the king ought to be looked upon as the only general, the spring and director of all. Should Hannibal lose a fleet or an army, the loss would be the same as if any other had lost it: but if success attended his arms, Hannibal, not Antiochus, would have all the glory. The king might have the Carthaginian to attend him, and might hear his opinion; a cautious use of his talents would be safe and profitable; but to trust him with the supreme direction of affairs, would be dangerous both to Antiochus and to Hannibal."

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Bef. J. C.  
One hundred ninety-one.

260th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 35.  
c. 43.

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dred ninety-  
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260th Con-  
sulship.

None are so prone to envy, says Livy, as those of high rank and fortune, with low, little minds. The king immediately dropped all thoughts of sending Hannibal into Italy, the only wise measure that had been proposed in relation to this war. It being concluded that Antiochus should pass into Greece, he, before he set sail, went with a frivolous pomp of ceremony to Ilium, and there sacrificed to Minerva. This done, he took shipping, and landed at Demetrias with ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; an army hardly considerable enough to take possession of Greece, had it been wholly unprovided of troops; much less to oppose the power of Rome.

As soon as the Ætolians heard of the king's landing, they assembled a diet at Lamia, in order to invite him, in form, to come to their assistance. The Syrian, knowing their design, was already on his way, when he received their invitation; and being, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, introduced into the assembly, he began to excuse his coming into Greece with an army so much inferior to what they had expected. "It was (he said) a strong evidence of his good will to them, that upon the call of their ambassadors, he had hasted to their aid, without waiting till any thing was ready, or even till the weather was fit for sailing. He assured them, he would in a short time satisfy their utmost expectations; that as soon as the season would permit, they should see Greece full of men, arms, and horses, and all the coast

covered with his ships. Neither would he spare any expense or labour, or decline any danger, to remove the Roman yoke from their necks, give Greece real liberty, and make the Ætoli-  
 ans the most considerable of all her states. When his forces should arrive, all sorts of provisions (he said) would arrive with them. In the meantime, he hoped the Ætoli-  
 ans would furnish him with corn and other necessaries for the troops he had brought."

This discourse was heard with applause; and the diet passed a decree constituting Antiochus general of the Ætoli-  
 ans, and appointing him a council of thirty persons, to whom he might have recourse on all occasions. The first attempt he made, by their advice, was to gain over Chalcis in Eubœa; and as they imagined that much depended upon expedition, he hasted away with a thousand Syrians and some Ætoli-  
 ans, crossed the Euripus, and appeared before the gates of Chalcis. The Ætoli-  
 ans, in an amicable conference with the Chalcidians, endeavoured to persuade them to enter into a treaty of friendship with Antiochus, (without renouncing their alliance with Rome) and assured them, that the king was not come to make war upon Greece, but to deliver her from slavery. Mictio, one of the chiefs of the Chalcidians, answered, "That he wondered what cities of Greece they were, to set which at liberty Antiochus had left his kingdom, and come into Europe. For his part, he knew of none that had either a Roman garrison, or paid

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tribute to Rome, or was obliged to do any thing contrary to its own laws. The Chalcidians, therefore, neither wanted a protector nor a garrison; since by the favour of the Romans they enjoyed both peace and liberty. They were indeed far from despising the friendship of the king, or even of the Ætolians; but desired, the first instance of that friendship might be their leaving the island immediately; for the Chalcidians were determined not only not to receive them within their walls, but to enter into no alliance with them, without consent of the Romans." The king, hereupon, thought proper to return to Demetrias, for he had not with him a sufficient number of troops to take Chalcis by force.

Nor did he succeed better in his endeavours to bring the diet of Achaia, held at Ægium, to a neutrality. His minister there extravagantly magnified the Syrian power, and boasted much of an innumerable multitude of horsemen, that were coming over the Hellespont into Europe, some in complete armour, others so excellent archers that nothing was safe from their arrows, and who were surest of hitting an enemy when they turned their backs upon him. And though these horsemen were sufficient to trample down all the armies of Europe joined together in a body, yet the king would also bring into the field a numerous and terrible infantry; Dahæ, Medes, Elimæans, Cadusians, names scarce heard of before in Greece. He represented the fleet of Antiochus as so pro-

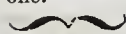
digiously great that all the ports of Greece could not contain it: "The squadrons of the right composed of Sidonians and Tyrians: those on the left, of Aradians and Sidetæ from Pamphylia; nations whose bravery in naval engagements, and skill in maritime affairs, had never been equalled." He added, that "it would be superfluous to reckon up the warlike stores, or the sums of money Antiochus had amassed: they knew the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded with gold. The Romans therefore would not have to do with Hannibal or Philip, the former only one of the chiefs of a single city, and the latter confined within the narrow limits of Macedon; but with the great king of all Asia and a part of Europe. And that this king, though he came from the extremity of the east to deliver Greece from slavery, yet asked nothing of the Achæans that was contrary to their treaty with the Romans. He only desired they would stand neuter, and be quiet spectators of the war between him and Rome."

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Archidamus, the Ætolian minister, exhorted the assembly to comply with this motion; nor did he stop here, but proceeded to inveigh against the Romans in general, and Flaminius in particular. He boasted that the victory over Philip was entirely owing to the courage of the Ætolians, who alone were exposed to danger, while the noble commander of the Romans employed himself wholly in making vows and sacrifices. To this Flaminius, who was pre-

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sent, answered, “ Archidamus considers before whom, rather than to whom he speaks. The bravery of the Ætolians is well known, in Greece, to show itself more in councils and assemblies than in the field. They little value therefore what the Achæans think, whom they cannot hope to impose upon; it is to the king’s ambassador, and by him to the absent king, that Archidamus makes his boasts. And now, if any one was ignorant before of what has made Antiochus and the Ætolians friends, he may learn it from the speeches of their ministers: by lying to each other, and bragging of that strength they never had, they have puffed up one another with vain hopes. While the Ætolians talk loudly, that Philip was overcome by them, and the Romans protected by their valour, and that you and the other states of Greece will undoubtedly join them; the king, on the other hand, boasts of his clouds of horse and foot, his Dahæ, Cadusians, Aradians, and the rest; and covers the seas with his prodigious fleets. This puts me in mind of an entertainment we once had at Chalcis at a friend’s house, an honest man, and who understood good eating. It was in the beginning of June; and we therefore much admired how, in that season of the year, he had procured such variety of venison as we saw at his table: upon which my friend (not so vain as these orators) bid me not deceive myself; for that what I saw was nothing more than common pork: ‘ My cook,’ said he, ‘ has indeed disguised it, and given it different tastes



and different names; but all this variety of dishes is made of one tame swine.' It is just so with regard to this pompous enumeration of the king's forces: they are all Syrians, by whatever strange names they may be called; all one sort of men; and for their servile dispositions much fitter to be slaves than soldiers. And I wish, Achæans, I could but picture to you the great king in all his mightiness and bustle. You would see something like two petty legions, incomplete, in his camp. You would behold him one while almost begging corn of the Ætolians to be measured out scantily to his soldiers; then borrowing money at use to pay them. You would see him hurrying from Demetrias to Lamia; from Lamia to Chalcis in Eubœa: now standing at the gates of Chalcis; and by-and-by, when denied entrance, and having only seen Aulis and the Euripus, returning to Demetrias. Indeed Antiochus did ill to believe the Ætolians; and the Ætolians were as much in the wrong to harken to his vanity. Be not you therefore deceived, but rely on the faith of the Romans, which you have so often experienced. And as for the neutrality so much recommended to you, nothing can be more contrary to your interests: for without gaining any honour, or even thanks from either side, you would undoubtedly be the prize of the conqueror." The Achæans without hesitation declared for the Romans.

Antiochus and the Ætolians had sent an embassy to the Bœotians, to court their alli-

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260th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 35.  
c. 47, 50.

ance. These returned answer : that when the king came into their country, they would consider of what was proper to be done.

The Athamenes were brought over to Antiochus by means of Philip the brother of Apamea, Amynander's wife. Philip deduced his pedigree from Alexander the Great, and pretended to be the true heir of Macedon : and the Syrian, encouraging his vanity, made him hope that he should one day possess that throne.

After this, the king, hearing that Eumenès and the Achæans were sending a garrison into Chalcis, made what haste he could to prevent them. He instantly sent away Menippus with three thousand men : and followed in person with the rest of his army. Menippus intercepted and cut off a party of five hundred Romans that were marching to the defence of Chalcis ; and though the Pergamenians and Achæans had entered the place, the inhabitants opened the gates to Antiochus : after which he soon reduced the whole island of Eubœa. Thence he passed into Bœotia ; and this country also renounced her confederacy with Rome, and submitted to him.

B. 36. c. 6.

Upon his return to Chalcis (which he made his chief place of residence) he, by letters, invited his friends and allies to meet him in council at Demetrias, in order to determine, whether it were proper to make any attempt upon Thessaly. Some were for an expedition into that country immediately ; some for de-

ferring it till the spring ; others advised only the sending ambassadors thither. When Hannibal's opinion came to be asked, addressing himself to the king, he spoke to this effect : “ Had I ever been consulted since our arrival in Greece ; had my opinion been asked, when you were considering how to act with regard to the Eubœans, Achæans, and Bœotians, I should have said what I am now going to say ; when the debate is concerning Thessaly. Our first, our principal object should be to gain over the king of Macedon. The Eubœans, the Bœotians, the Thessalians, who have no strength of their own, will always follow the dictates of their fears. Through fear they will now be on your side ; and, as soon as the Romans come into Greece, turn again to them, pleading weakness as an excuse for having submitted to you. Of how much greater importance would it be to engage Philip in your cause, who, if he once espouses it, must of necessity be steady ; and whose friendship will bring us an accession of real strength, a strength that, not long ago, was of itself sufficient to withstand the whole power of the Romans ? If I am asked what reason I have to hope that Philip will join in the alliance, I answer : in the first place, his interest requires him so to do : and in the next, you Ætolians have always asserted he would. Your ambassador here, this same Thoas, when he was pressing the king to sail into Greece, employed, as one of his strongest arguments, the raging anger

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of Philip, to find himself, under the colour of a peace, reduced to slavery. I remember, he compared the king's fury to that of a wild beast chained or shut up, and struggling to get loose. If this be true, let us break his chains and set him free, that he may turn against the common enemy all that wrath which has been so long restrained. But, if he will not be brought over to our cause, let us at least take care that he do not join our enemies. Your son Seleucus is at Lysimachia with an army: if he attacks Macedon on the side of Thrace, this, by keeping Philip employed in the defence of his own dominions, will hinder him from assisting the Romans. Thus far with regard to Philip. What my opinion is, in relation to the general plan of the war, you have known from the beginning. Had I then been hearkened to, the news at Rome would not now be, that Chalcis in Eubœa is taken, and a castle upon the Euripus demolished; but that Hetruria, Liguria, and Cisalpine Gaul are in a flame; and, what perhaps would strike more terror, that Hannibal is in Italy. Be that as it will, our present situation, I think, requires that you send immediately for all your sea and land forces, and provisions necessary to maintain them; for they cannot be supplied by this country. When your fleet arrives, it should be divided; one part of it stationed at Corcyra to prevent the Romans landing in Greece, and the other sent to that coast of Italy which looks towards Sardinia and Africa. It will also be

expedient that you in person march your land forces to the coast of Illyricum, near Epirus. There you may preside over all Greece, and keep the Romans in awe by the fear of an invasion: nay from thence may actually pass into Italy, if you should think it proper. This is my opinion; and if I should not be thought the most skilful in managing other wars, yet surely it will be granted, that I have learned, both by good and bad fortune, how to manage a war against the Romans. In the execution of the advice I have given, I am ready to assist with faithfulness and alacrity. But whatever resolution you take, may the gods grant you success." Such was the substance of Hannibal's discourse. His counsel was applauded, and not followed. Of all he had proposed, the king did nothing, except sending to Asia for his fleet and land forces.

As to Thessaly, it was determined to despatch ambassadors to the Thessalian diet held at Larissa: and the Syrian marched with his army to Pheræ, in the same country. While he was there waiting to be joined by the Athamanes and the Ætolians, he sent Philip, the brother-in-law of Amynder, with two thousand men, to Cynocephalæ, where the bones of the Macedonians slain in the battle when the king of Macedon was vanquished by the Romans still lay unburied. Antiochus thought, that if this pretender procured them burial, he would thereby gain the affection of a people over whom he claimed the government. But this step served only to

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irritate the true king of Macedon. And he, who perhaps was hitherto undetermined, not only sent advice to the Roman prætor M. Bæbius, of the irruption of the Syrians into Thessaly, but offered him the assistance of his forces.

The Syrian's embassy to the Thessalians having proved fruitless, he, with the help of the Ætolians and Amynder, reduced, by force of arms, Pheræ, Scotussa, Cypra, and the greatest part of Thessaly; and then laid siege to Larissa. Bæbius, now joined by Philip, sent Ap. Claudius with a detachment to reinforce the garrison. When Claudius came near the town, he posted himself upon a hill within view of the Syrians, made his camp larger than his forces required, and lighted up more fires than were necessary. Antiochus, thinking the whole Roman army and king Philip were coming to the relief of Larissa, immediately raised the siege, under pretence that winter was at hand, retired to Demetrias, and from thence to Chalcis. Here he became enamoured, though past fifty years old, of the daughter of a Chalcidian named Cleoptolemus, in whose house he lodged. The disproportion of her age and condition to those of the king made the father very averse to the marriage, fearing she would soon repent her advancement to so glittering a station: but Antiochus at length obtained his consent; and the nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence. The king spent the rest of the winter in feasting and diversions: his officers and soldiers, infected by his example, abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery.



## CHAP. V.

*The Romans declare war against Antiochus.—The consul Acilius lands in Greece.—Antiochus routed at Thermopylæ.—He returns into Asia.—The Ætolians ask a peace with Rome, but will not submit to the terms on which it is offered.—Flamininus takes the island of Zacynthus from the Achæans, and persuades them he does it for their good.—The Syrians are vanquished at sea.—The conduct of the war against Antiochus being given to L. Scipio, his brother Africanus assists him in quality of his lieutenant.*

WHILST Antiochus lay asleep in pleasures, the Romans were very watchful of their affairs in the Levant. Some late successes of their arms had made all things quiet in Spain and Italy, which put them in a better condition to provide for a war in the East. They fitted out a hundred quinqueremes to scour the eastern seas; and after the election of magistrates, and a regulation of the troops appointed to serve this year, formally declared war against Antiochus. The new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and M. Acilius Glabrio, drew lots for their provinces. Greece fell to the latter. When every thing was ready for his departure, ambassadors arrived from the kings of Egypt and Macedon with offers of money, provisions, and troops. Masinissa likewise would have contributed to the expenses of the war which the Romans were going to undertake. And as for the Carthaginians, they not only pro-

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One hundred ninety.

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Livy, B. 36.  
c. 2.

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Year of  
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Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred & sixty.  
261st Con-  
sulship.

was not ignorant that, when Xerxes made his passage, it was by means of some troops that climbed the mountains, and fell down from thence upon the enemy, he, to prevent the Romans, detached two thousand Ætolians to seize the summit of Oeta, called Callidromos, which overlooked his camp. Acilius nevertheless forced the king in his entrenchments: for Cato being sent with a detachment up the mountain in the night, dislodged the Ætolians; and then pouring down upon the Syrians, while the consul attacked them below, put a speedy end to the dispute: an exploit of which he was extravagantly vain, and the last military exploit of his life. He was sent to Rome with the news of the victory.

Antiochus, in the action of Thermopylæ, and in his flight, lost his whole army, except five hundred horse, which escaped with him to Elatia, from whence they passed to Chalcis. The conqueror, to make the best use of his advantage, marched into Bœotia. The inhabitants of several revolted cities came to meet him; and as he every where gave proofs of his clemency and moderation, the greatest part of this country submitted; and, presently after, all Eubœa: for Antiochus, upon the approach of the Roman army, left Chalcis, embarked for Asia with his new queen, and retired to Ephesus. Acilius laid siege to Heraclea, at the foot of mount Oeta. The city being taken, after a stout resistance of the Ætolian garrison, the soldiers retired into the citadel. It was com-

manded by that Damocritus, who, when Flamininus asked a copy of the decree whereby the Ætolians called Antiochus into Greece, had answered, he would give it him upon the banks of the Tiber. He surrendered at discretion.

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261st Consulship.

Philip, in pursuance of an agreement between him and the Roman general, was at this time besieging Lamia, a strong town about seven miles from Heraclea. The place was on the point of surrendering; when the consul, having reduced Heraclea, sent to the king to quit his enterprise; alleging, that it was but just the Roman soldiers, who had conquered the Ætolians in battle, should have the rewards of the victory. Philip with reluctance complied, and marched away. The city presently after opened her gates to Acilius.

A few days before Heraclea was taken, the Ætolians, assembled in council at Hypata, had sent Thoas into Asia, to press the Syrian to return with an army into Europe: but now they bent their thoughts wholly to a peace, and for that purpose despatched deputies; who presented themselves in a suppliant manner before the consul. Phæneas, their speaker, having in a long harangue endeavoured to move the compassion of the conqueror, at length concluded with saying, that “the Ætolians yielded themselves and their all to the faith<sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> *Polyb. Legat. 13.* says they were deceived by the words *Εἰς τὴν πίσιν αὐτὸν ἐγχέισσαι*, *fidei se permittere*, not knowing that they signified among the Romans, to surrender at discretion.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.  
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One hun-  
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261st Con-  
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Polyb. Le-  
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the people of Rome.”—“Do you so?” said Acilius: “then deliver up to us Amynder and the chiefs of the Athamanes, Dicæarchus the Ætolian, and Menetus the Epirot, who made the city of Naupactus revolt from us.” The consul had scarce finished, when Phæneas answered, “We did not give ourselves up to servitude, but to your faith; and I am persuaded, it is because you are unacquainted with the customs of the Greeks, that you enjoin us things so contrary to them.” Acilius haughtily replied, “You little Greeks! Do you talk to me of your customs? of what is fit and decent for me to do? You; who have surrendered yourselves at discretion, and whom I may lay in irons, if I please? Here, lictors, bring chains for the necks of these men.” Phæneas and his colleagues, quite astonished, represented to the consul, that, though they were very willing to obey his orders, yet they could not execute them without the consent of the Ætolian diet. He was prevailed upon to grant them ten days truce, to bring him a positive answer from thence. The preliminaries on which the Roman general insisted highly provoked the council. While they were in great perplexity and doubt what measures to take, one Nicander, an active man, who had gone from Ætolia to Ephesus, and returned in twelve days, brought considerable sums of money from Antiochus; and also certain advice, that the king was making mighty preparations for war. This determined the assembly to lay aside the thoughts of peace. They drew all their forces to Nau-



pactus, and resolved to sustain a siege there to the last extremity. Acilius, considering that by the reduction of this place he should give the finishing stroke to the conquest of Ætolia, and quell for ever the most restless of the Greek nations, marched thither and invested it.

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In the mean time Flamininus, who had resided a good while at Chalcis, which he had saved from being sacked, (when taken by Acilius) and where he was honoured even to adoration, went thence to settle a peace between the Achæans and the city of Messene; and he subjected the latter to the states of Achaia. There was at this time a dispute between the Romans and Achæans about Zacynthus, an island in the Ionian sea. This island Philip of Macedon had given to Amynder, who made one Hierocles, of Agrigentum, governor of it. Hierocles, after the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, seeing that Amynder was driven out of Achamania by Philip, sold Zacynthus to the Achæans; but Flamininus remonstrated, in the diet of Achaia, that an island, which only the success of the Roman arms had made to change its masters, belonged of right to the Romans. The assembly having referred the matter to his own honour, he thus answered: "If I thought that your possessing the island in question could be of any benefit to you, I would counsel the senate and people of Rome to let you hold it. But as a tortoise when collected within its shell is safe from all harm, and when it thrusts out any part of itself, exposes

Plut. Life of  
Flamininus.  
Livy, B. 36.  
c. 31.

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261st Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 36.  
c. 34.

that part to be trod upon and wounded : in a like manner, you Achæans, who are encompassed with the sea, may safely unite, and united preserve, all within the limits of Peloponnesus; but if you transgress those bounds, and make acquisitions beyond them, these members of your state will be exposed to insults by which the whole body must be affected." The issue was, that the Achæans relinquished their pretensions to the island. While the Romans were besieging Naupactus, king Philip (who had obtained permission from the consul to reduce the towns which had fallen off from their alliance with Rome) made himself master of Demetrias, extended his conquests in Dolopia, Aperantia, and Perroëbia (territories of Thessaly, or bordering upon it) and was gradually recovering the many places which had been formerly taken from him by the Romans. Flamininus, not pleased with this progress of the Macedonian, whom he looked upon as a more dangerous enemy than the Ætolians, went to the camp before Naupactus to reprove Acilius for having consented to the enterprises of Philip. As the besieged, who were now reduced to great extremity, had formerly experienced Flamininus's clemency, they, upon the news of his arrival, sent deputies to him, imploring his protection. He became their intercessor with the consul, and obtained for them a suspension of arms, till they could despatch ambassadors to Rome, to negotiate a peace there. The Epirots at the

same time sent thither, to excuse some advances they had formerly made to Antiochus; and as it did not appear that they had committed any act of hostility against the republic, she chose rather to admit their apology, than draw new enemies upon herself. But the ambassadors of Philip were yet more favourably received than those of Epirus. He begged leave to hang up, in the capitol, a crown of gold of an hundred pounds weight, in memory of the first advantage the Romans had gained over Antiochus. The fathers readily accepted the king's present; and, in return, restored to him his son Demetrius, then a hostage at Rome; promising at the same time, that, if he continued steady to the republic in the prosecution of the war, she would remit the tribute he was engaged to pay her.

During these transactions, Livius the Roman admiral was pursuing the war against Antiochus at sea. The king, for some time after his return to Ephesus, had imagined himself secure from any further hostilities on the part of Rome. He never dreamed that the Romans would follow him into Asia; and was kept in this delusion by the ignorance or flattery of his courtiers. Hannibal roused him out of his lethargy: he said, there was more cause to wonder, that the Romans were not already in Asia, than to doubt of their coming: that the king might be well assured, he would very soon have a war with them in Asia, and for Asia; and that, as Rome aspired to universal empire, she would infallibly

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred ninety.

261st Consulship.

Polybius  
Legat. 15.

Livy, B. 36.  
c. 41.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred ninety.

261st Con-  
sulship.

ruin him, if he did not ruin her. Antiochus, thus awakened, went in person, with what ships he had ready, to Chersonesus, to garrison the places in that country, and thereby make it difficult for the Romans to pass into Asia that way. At the same time he ordered Polyxenidas to equip the rest of his fleet with all diligence. Upon the news of these naval preparations, Livius sailed to the coast of Asia, with a fleet of one hundred and five decked ships, including the squadron of Eumenes king of Pergamus. Polyxenidas having got together a hundred, some say two hundred ships, came to an engagement with the enemy in the Ionian gulf. The Romans obtained the victory with the loss of only one vessel; the Syrians lost twenty-three.

About the time of this success of the Roman arms in the Levant, the reduction of the Boian Gauls is said to have been completed by the consul Scipio Nasica, and one half of their lands given to new colonies sent thither from Rome.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

262d Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 37.  
c. 1.  
Polyb. Leg.  
16.

To L. Cornelius Scipio, the brother, and C. Lælius, the friend of the great Scipio, were transferred the consular fasces for the new year. They began the exercise of their office with introducing to the senate the ambassadors from Naupactus. The fathers required of the Ætolians, that they should either submit implicitly to the will of the senate; or pay the republic a thousand talents, and engage themselves to be enemies to all the enemies of Rome.

The ambassadors, knowing that the Ætolians had not a thousand talents to give, and that they dreaded the severity of the Romans too much to yield to them at discretion, could consent to neither of these demands: whereupon they were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-nine.

262d Consulship.

The senate had not yet assigned to the consuls their provinces. Lælius, who had a great interest in the assembly, and was perhaps the abler general, artfully proposed to his colleague, that instead of drawing lots, they should leave the matter to the determination of the conscript fathers. L. Scipio knew not how to decline this offer; yet took time to consider of it; and consulted his brother. Africanus, without any hesitation, advised him to accept the proposal; and when the senate came to deliberate upon the affair, he, to their great surprise, offered to serve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no further argument to make the fathers immediately assign Greece to L. Scipio.

Livy, B. 37.  
c. 1.

The two brothers embarked at Brundisium, with thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, including auxiliaries and volunteers, and landed at Apollonia: from thence they marched through Epirus and Thessaly, and at length arrived before Amphissa, the citadel of which Acilius was besieging, having already taken the town. Hither came some deputies from the Athenians, to intercede with the consul for the Ætolians, now shut up in Naupactus by a

Polyb.  
Leg. 17.  
Livy, B. 37.  
c. 7.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

262d Con-  
sulship.

blockade. Lucius Scipio was at first inexorable, notwithstanding that his brother joined his mediation to that of the Athenians; yet in the end consented to grant them a truce, that they might have an opportunity to try once more a negotiation with the senate of Rome. Acilius having resigned the command of his army to the consul, returned home.

## CHAP. VI.

*Philip conducts the two Scipios through Macedon and Thrace to the Hellespont.—Antiochus desires to treat with the Roman admiral.—Hannibal shut up in Pamphylia by the Rhodians.—A sea-fight between the Romans and Syrians.—Antiochus sends proposals of peace to Scipio.—The battle of Magnesia.—Scipio concludes a peace with Antiochus.*

ALL Greece being now quiet, the two Scipios were at full liberty to pass into Asia. In order to this, they judged that the safest way was to conduct their forces by land to the Hellespont, and consequently through Macedon and Thrace. However, before they set out, they had the precaution to despatch a young Roman to Pella, where Philip resided at this time, to learn his real dispositions, and whether the steps he had taken were like those of a friend, or of an enemy. The king had prepared every thing to facilitate the march of the Romans through his dominions. He came in person to meet the Scipios on his frontiers, was



extremely obliging in all his behaviour, and accompanied them as far as the Hellespont.

In the meantime, Livius, in conjunction with the Pergamenian fleet, took Sestos, and afterwards invested Abydos; but raised the siege upon the news that Polyxenidas had destroyed a Rhodian squadron. The Roman admiral soon after resigned his command to the prætor Æmilius, sent from Rome to succeed him.

Antiochus was now full of business; and, turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of pains and assiduity brought almost nothing to pass. He and his son Seleucus entered the territories of Pergamus on different sides. Seleucus laid siege to the capital. This brought Eumenes to the defence of his own country; and he was quickly followed by Æmilius, and also by the Rhodians, who, since their last defeat, had equipped a new squadron. Upon the junction of these fleets, and the news of Scipio's approach, Antiochus, fearing to be hard pressed both by land and sea, despatched an agent to Æmilius to propose a peace. The Roman, ambitious of the honour of finishing the war, readily hearkened to the motion; and the Rhodians were not averse to it: but Eumenes, who had different views, prevailed to have this answer sent to the king, that nothing could be concluded with regard to a peace, before the arrival of the consul.

The Syrian, after laying waste the country of Pergamus, invaded Troas, took Peræa and some other towns, and then retired to Sardis.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty  
nine.

262d Con-  
sulship.

Polyb. Le-  
gat. 21.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

262d Con-  
sulship.

Corn. Nep.  
Life of  
Hannibal.  
Livy, B. 37.  
c. 23.

Polyb. Le-  
gat. 22.  
Livy, B. 37.  
c. 25.

His son Seleucus was soon forced to quit the dominions of Eumenes, chiefly by the able conduct of Diophanes, a Megalopolitan, whom the Achæans had sent with a thousand men to the relief of Pergamus.

After this the confederate fleets separated: Æmilius stationed himself at Samos, to watch the fleet under Polyxenidas; and Eumenes sailed to the Hellespont, to prepare everything for Scipio's passage into Asia. Eudamus, the Rhodian admiral, went to oppose Hannibal, who was bringing a reinforcement of ships from Syria. The two squadrons met off Syda in Pamphylia. In the engagement, the Carthaginian had the advantage on the left, where he in person commanded; but his right being vanquished and forced to sheer off, all the Rhodian ships jointly attacked him, put him to flight, and chased him into a port of Pamphylia. Eudamus left Chariclitus with twenty ships to block him up there, and with the rest joined the Roman fleet.

On advice of this ill success, Antiochus employed his endeavours to engage the assistance of Prusias, king of Bithynia: he represented to him by letters, that the views of the Romans were to destroy all monarchies, being determined to suffer, throughout the whole world, no empire but their own. "First Philip was subdued; then Nabis; I am attacked the third: and, since Eumenes has yielded himself to voluntary servitude, the fury of Roman ambition, when it has overturned my kingdom, will fall

next upon yours ; nor will it ever cease its destructive progress, till it has borne down all kingly power.

To efface the impressions made by these letters, Scipio Africanus wrote to Prusias, assuring him, “ that Rome, so far from being an enemy to kings, had made it her constant practice, with regard to the monarchs in friendship with her, by every kind of honour to augment their majesty. The petty kings in Spain, who had put themselves under her protection, she had made great kings. Masinissa she had not only placed in his father’s throne, but had given him the kingdom of Syphax ; so that he was now the most potent of all the African kings ; nay, equal in majesty and power to any monarch in the world. Philip and Nabis, though conquered in war, had yet been left in possession of their dominions. Rome had restored to Philip his son, (the pledge of his fidelity) remitted to him the tribute he owed the republic, and suffered him to possess himself of some towns not belonging to Macedon. He added, that Nabis would have been held in the same consideration by the senate, if his own madness first, and then the fraudulent artifice of the Ætolians, had not undone him.” This latter gave a check to the king’s inclination to assist Antiochus. But Æmilius, the Roman admiral and ambassador to him from the republic, absolutely fixed him in a neutrality, by convincing him, not only that the Romans were more likely to be victorious than Antiochus, but that

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-  
nine.

262d Con-  
sulship.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

262d Con-  
sulship.

their friendship was more to be depended upon than his.

Antiochus, disappointed of his hopes of aid from Prusias, and having little confidence in his own land forces, ordered Polyxenidas to bring to a battle, if possible, the Roman fleet, then lying at Samos. For though the king had no encouragement from past trials to expect victory; yet, as the Pergamenian squadron and a part of the Rhodian were at this time separated from the Roman, he had now a better chance to succeed than before; and he considered, that could he get the mastery at sea, he should then be able to hinder the Scipios from invading his Asiatic dominions. Polyxenidas encountered the Roman fleet, consisting of eighty ships, off Myonnesus in Ionia. He was totally vanquished. Of eighty-nine ships, his whole strength, he lost forty-two; the rest escaped to Ephesus. The king, when he heard of this misfortune, impatiently exclaimed, "that some god disconcerted his measures; every thing fell out contrary to his expectation; his enemies were masters of the sea; Hannibal was shut up in a port of Pamphylia; and Philip assisted the Romans to pass into Asia." In his fright, believing it impossible for him to defend places at a distance, he very unadvisedly withdrew the garrison from Lysimachia, which might have held out a great while against the consul's army, and retarded his approach. He also evacuated Abydos, which commanded the Hælléspont, gathered all his forces about him at Sardis, and

App. in  
Syr. p. 105.

sent into Cappadocia for assistance from his son-in-law king Ariarathes.

The consular army, attended by Eumenes and the Rhodians, passed the Hellespont without opposition. Upon the first advice of their landing in Asia, Antiochus, struck with terror, immediately sent proposals of peace to Scipio, offering to quit his pretensions in Europe, and likewise all the cities in Asia, that were then in alliance with Rome; and to bear half the expense which the Romans had been at in the war. The consul insisted on the king's paying the whole expense of the war, his confining himself within Mount Taurus, (a chain of mountains which begins towards the west of Lycia, and separates Cilicia from northern Asia) and his compensating Eumenes for the injuries he had suffered. The ambassador thinking these conditions intolerable, applied himself privately to Scipio Africanus, to whom he had particular instructions to make his court, offering him the restitution of his son, (who by some accident had fallen into the hands of the Syrians) and even a partnership with Antiochus in the empire, if he would be content without the title of king. Africanus gave this answer to the ambassador; "I am the less surprised, that you are unacquainted with the character of the Romans, and of me, to whom you are sent; since I find you are ignorant of the fortune and situation of him who sends you. If your master imagined, that an anxiety about the event of the war would engage us to make peace with

Year of  
R O M E  
D E X I I I  
Bel. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-nine.

262d Consulship.

Polyb. Legat. 23.

Livy, B. 37. c. 36.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

262d Con-  
sulship.

him, he should, by guarding Lysimachia, have kept us out of the Chersonesus; or he should have stopped us at the Hellespont. But now, after he has suffered us to pass into Asia, and thereby has received our yoke, he ought to submit to it patiently, and not pretend to treat with us upon a foot of equality. For my own part, I shall esteem the king's restoring me my son, as the noblest present his munificence can make me: his other offers my mind certainly will never need—I pray the gods, my fortune never may. If Antiochus will be contented with my private acknowledgments for a personal favour, he shall ever find me grateful: in my public capacity, I can neither give him any thing, nor receive any thing from him. All I can at present do for his advantage is, to send him this honest advice: let him desist from the war, and refuse no conditions of peace.”

Antiochus, believing that should he be vanquished nothing worse would be imposed than what the consul had required, turned his thoughts wholly to war. He assembled all his troops, and encamped them not far from Thyatira in Lydia. Soon after, hearing that Scipio Africanus was fallen sick near Elæa, he generously sent him his son, without ransom. The joy of the Roman, on this occasion, was so great, that it gave a turn to his distemper, and helped to cure him. To the Syrian messengers he spoke thus: “Tell the king I thank him; I can at present make him no other return, except advising him not to hazard a battle till he hears



that I am gone to the Roman camp." Antiochus, in pursuance of this advice, [the meaning of which it is hard to guess] declined fighting, and retired to Magnesia. But the consul, ambitious perhaps of gaining a victory in the absence of his brother, followed the Syrian so close, and pressed him so hard, that he could not, without discouraging his troops, avoid an engagement. The king's army consisted of seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; the consul's of not above thirty thousand men. They came to a battle near Magnesia; Antiochus lost five and fifty thousand men, including the prisoners; the Romans not more than three hundred foot and twenty-five horse. Though this victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of the king of Pergamus and his brother Attalus, yet Lucius Scipio had so entirely the honour of it, that he acquired the surname of Asiaticus.

And now the king of Syria, eager to procure a peace upon any terms, sent ambassadors to the Roman camp at Sardis, to make his submissions. It was by P. Scipio they made their application to the general. A council, at their request, being called to hear what they had to offer, the chief of them spoke to this effect: "Our commission is not to make proposals, but to know of you, Romans, by what means the king may expiate his fault, and obtain of his conquerors forgiveness and peace. It has always been your practice, with a peculiar greatness of mind, to pardon the kings and nations

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-nine.

262d Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

262d Con-  
sulship.

you have vanquished; your present victory, which has made you lords of the world, certainly demands a more illustrious display than ever of that magnanimity. Your only care now, having no longer any contention with mortals, should be to imitate the gods, in tending the preservation of human kind."

It had been previously determined by the council, what answer should be given to these ambassadors, and that Africanus should give it. He is reported to have expressed himself in the following manner: "Of things in the power of the gods to give, they have bestowed upon us what they think proper: our courage and steadiness, which depend upon our own minds, have been the same in all fortunes. Hannibal could tell you this, if you yourselves did not know it by your own experience. As soon as we crossed the Hellespont, before we saw the king's camp, and when the event of the war was yet doubtful, we insisted upon the same conditions of peace, with which we shall now content ourselves; after victory has declared for us. Antiochus shall give up all his pretensions in Europe; and in Asia, confine himself within Mount Taurus: he shall pay us fifteen thousand talents of Eubœa\*, for the expenses of the war, five hundred down, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people of Rome shall have confirmed the treaty, and one thousand annually for twelve years; four hundred talents he shall pay to Eumenes, and also the corn that was due to his father. And as the

\* Two mil-  
lion nine  
hundred  
six thou-  
sand two  
hundred  
and fifty  
pounds.

Arbutnot.

Polyp.  
80.  
80.  
80.  
80.



Romans can have no peace where Hannibal is, we, above all, insist upon his being delivered up to us, together with Thoas the Ætolian, Mnasilochus the Acarnanian, Philo and Eubulidas, Chalcidians. For security of the peace we demand twenty hostages, whom we shall name. If Antiochus hesitates to accept of these terms, let him reflect, that it is more difficult to reduce a king from the height of power to a middle fortune, than from this to cast him down to the lowest." The ambassadors had orders to refuse no conditions; all were accepted, and the affair concluded: but Hannibal could not be delivered up; for, hearing of the king's defeat at Magnesia, he had escaped out of the Syrian dominions.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-nine.

262d Consulship.

## CHAP. VII.

*A new commotion in Ætolia.—Eumenes comes to Rome, to ask the reward of his services.—The Rhodians oppose his pretensions.—The Ætolians obtain a peace.—The Romans carry the war into Galatia.—The laws of Lycurgus abolished at Lacedæmon.—The affairs of Asia settled by commissioners from Rome.*

WHILE the Scipios were thus settling peace in Asia, the Ætolians dispossessed Philip of the greatest part of Athamania, restored it to its rightful king, Amynder, and made some other conquests on the Macedonian. Rome, upon an embassy from Amynder, confirmed him in the possession of his dominions.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-eight.

263d Consulship.

Polyb. Legat. 25.  
Livy, B. 38.  
c. 1. et seq.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
eight.

263d Con-  
sulship.

After the election of M. Fulvius Nobilior, and Cn. Manlius Fulso, to the consulship, ambassadors came from Ætolia to negotiate a peace; but these, instead of addressing the senate in the manner of suppliants, enumerated their services to the republic, and talked of their own courage in such a strain as seemed to reproach the Romans with the want of courage. The senate hereupon directly asked them, whether they would surrender at discretion; to which they not answering any thing, the fathers ordered them out of the temple, and passed a decree, that they should leave the city that very day, and Italy in a fortnight; adding, that if any ambassadors from Ætolia came to Rome for the future, without the consent of the Roman commander in that country, they should be treated as enemies.

Livy, B. 37.  
c. 52. et seq.  
Polyb. Le-  
gat. 25.

Presently after, Aurelius Cotta, a messenger, sent by Scipio with the news of his success, arrived at Rome; and with him came Eumenes, king of Pergamus, the ambassadors from Antiochus, and some from Rhodes. When Cotta had imparted the news to the senate, and, by their order, to the people assembled; and when, in consequence of it, supplications and thanksgivings, as usual, had been decreed, the fathers gave audience to Eumenes. The king having in few words made his compliment of thanks for the succour he had received from them against Antiochus, and congratulated them on their complete victory over the Syrian, added, with a seeming modesty, (no uncommon mask

of impudence) “As to my services to the republic, I had rather you should hear them from your own generals than from me.” Hereupon the senate entreated him not to be so over modest, but to prevail upon himself to say what he thought it reasonable the people of Rome should do for him; assuring him, that the fathers were disposed to recompense his merit to the utmost of their power. To this Eumenes: “Had the option of a reward been given me from any other quarter, I should gladly have seized the present opportunity of consulting this most august assembly: that thereby I might avoid the danger of seeming to transgress the bounds of modesty and moderation in my desires. Certainly then, since it is you who are to bestow the reward, it becomes me to leave it wholly to your generosity.” Upon this a most extraordinary contest of civility arose; the senate still urging him to declare his wishes, and he as steadily persisting in his silence on that head. At length, to put an end to the dispute, he withdrew. The fathers, nevertheless, directed that he should be called in again, saying, “that it was absurd to suppose the king ignorant of what he hoped, or what he came to ask; that he knew Asia much better than the senate, and must know what countries lay convenient for his own kingdom.” Eumenes then said; “I should have still persisted in my silence, conscript fathers, if I did not know that the Rhodian ambassadors are to be presently called in, and that, after they have been heard, I shall

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-eight.

263d Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
Bef. J. C  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
eight.

263d Con-  
sulship.

be under a necessity of speaking. My present task is the more difficult; because what they intend to request will seem not only to have no view to my prejudice, but to have none to their own proper interest: for they will plead the cause of the Greek cities, and the justice of setting them at liberty. But if they obtain this, is it not evident, that they will alienate from us the affections, not only of the cities which shall be freed, but even of those that are in our dependence, and have long paid us tribute? The Rhodians, on the other hand, having obliged the Greeks by so great a benefit, will, under the name of allies, hold them in subjection. Such is the advantage they propose to themselves, and yet they will disclaim their having any views of interest. They will allege, that what they sue for is becoming your dignity to grant, and agreeable to your constant practice. But you, fathers, are not to be imposed upon by all this. You will not only avoid the injustice of depressing too much some of your allies, and beyond measure exalting others, but of putting those who have borne arms against you into a better condition than your friends and associates." Then, after a pompous enumeration of all the services done by him or any of his family to the Roman name, services which he set forth as unequalled by any thing which any ally of the republic had ever performed, he thus proceeded: "But you ask me, what it is that I request. Since in obedience to you, conscript fathers, I must




speak, I shall say: that if you have confined Antiochus within Mount Taurus, in the intention to keep for yourselves all the country between that and the sea, there is no nation whose neighbourhood I should more covet, or think a greater security to my kingdom. But should it be your resolution to withdraw your armies out of that country, and relinquish it, I will venture to affirm, that none of your allies is more worthy to possess it than myself. But it is a glorious thing to free cities from slavery! I think so indeed, if they have committed no hostilities against you: but if they took part with Antiochus, how much more becoming your prudence and equity is it, to consult the advantage of your well deserving allies, than of your enemies?"

It was visible in the countenances of the senators, that they were much pleased with the king, and would reward him amply. When the Rhodian ambassadors came to be heard, the chief of them began by mentioning the long friendship of their state with the republic, and the services it had done her in her wars with Philip and Antiochus. He then expressed a concern, that he was obliged to oppose the pretensions and demands of Eumenes, a prince who not only was a friend of Rhodes, but had deserved so well of the Romans in the late war. "Our respect for the king is indeed the only thing which embarrasses us; for, that consideration apart, our cause is in no degree difficult for us to maintain, or for you to determine.

Year of  
 R O M E  
 DLXIV.  
 Bef. J. C.  
 One hundred eighty-eight.  
 263d Consulship.

Year of  
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Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-eight.

  
263d Consulship.

Were the case such, that you must either subject free cities to the domination of Eumenes, or suffer him to go without a sufficient reward of his merit, the matter might perhaps admit of doubt and deliberation. But fortune has well provided that you should not be reduced to that necessity. Your victory, by the bounty of the gods, is as rich as it is glorious. Besides the Greek colonies, you are thereby become masters of Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia, the Chersonesus, and the bordering countries; any one of which is vastly larger than the whole of Eumenes's kingdom. And should you give all these to him, you would make him equal to the greatest monarchs. It is easy to enrich your allies by the spoils of the war, without departing from your own institution. The cause you assigned for your wars with Philip and Antiochus was the liberty of the Greeks. Let Barbarians, let those to whom a master's will has always been a law, have kings; since they delight in kings: but let the Asiatic Greeks, who have the same spirit as the Romans, experience that regard for universal liberty which made you the deliverers of Greece. It may indeed be said that these Greek cities declared for Antiochus: and did not many of the Greek nations in Europe enter into a league with Philip? Yet you restored to these their laws and liberties: this is all we ask for the Asiatic Greeks. Can you not refuse to Eumenes's covetous ambition, what you

denied to your own just revenge? In this and all the wars you have had in Greece and Asia, with what courage and fidelity we have assisted, we leave you to judge: in peace, we offer you an advice, which, if you pursue, the whole world will think the use you make of your victory more glorious than the victory itself."

This discourse seemed Roman, and did not fail to have its effect on the senate. They determined to send ten commissioners into the Levant to settle all matters there; but at the same time pronounced in general, that Lycæonia, the two Phrygias, and the two Mysias, should for the future be subject to Eumenes. Lycia, that part of Caria which was next to Rhodes, and the country lying towards Pisidia, they adjudged to the Rhodians. In both these dispositions were excepted the Greek cities which had paid tribute to Antiochus, and taken part with the Romans in the war. These were to be free. As for the Syrian ambassadors, they had no business at Rome, but to get the peace approved; and this was done.

After despatching these affairs, Fulvius and Manlius left the city. The first sailed for Greece, to reduce the Ætolians; the second to Asia; whence Scipio, having delivered up the command of the army to him, returned to Rome, and was there honoured with a triumph.

Fulvius landed at Apollonia, and began his campaign by laying siege to Ambracia, a considerable city on the borders of Epirus. It was in the hands of the Ætolians, and vigorously

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R O M E  
DLXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-eight.

263d Consulship.

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 3.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
eight.

263d Con-  
sulship.

defended by them ; but they at length capitulated. And then the Ætolian nation, with Fulvius's leave, sent to Rome to solicit a peace. The senate at first would hardly hear the entreaties of their ambassadors. Some Athenian deputies, who appeared in their behalf, were more favourably received. These had an eloquent man, named Damis, at their head. He confessed, that the Romans had reason to be angry with the Ætolians, who, for great benefits received, had not made a suitable return ; but to charge this ingratitude upon the body of the nation, this, he said, was contrary to reason and truth. “ In all states the multitude are like the sea. In its natural situation the sea is always smooth and calm, and perfectly safe to those who embark upon it ; but when it comes to be ruffled and agitated by impetuous winds and storms, nothing is more raging and terrible. Thus the Ætolians, while in their natural state and uninfluenced from abroad, were of all the Greeks the most tractable and best inclined to the Roman people ; but when a boisterous Thoas and a Dicæarchus from Asia, a Menestias and a Democritus in Europe, began to blow, then were the multitude put into á commotion ; they were hurried on to speak and to act in a manner unlike themselves. To the authors then of these mischiefs and disturbances, be inexorable, conscript fathers ; but spare the multitude, and receive them again into favour. Let them now owe their preserva-

tion to your clemency. This, added to all your former benefits, will fix them for ever in affection and fidelity to Rome." The senate granted the Ætolians a peace, but upon terms that put them in a worse condition than any of the states of Greece, though they had been the first that brought the Romans into that country.

During these transactions, the consul Manlius in Asia marched against the Gallo-Greeks (or Galatians) to take revenge for the assistance they had given Antiochus in the late war. They were originally Gauls, who, in the time of Brennus, after various adventures, passing through Thrace, had entered Asia, and settled in an inland country beyond Caria and Phrygia. The consul was assisted in his long march by Seleucus the king of Syria's son, and by Attalus the brother of Eumenes; and he drew considerable contributions from the petty kings through whose countries he passed, and who came to pay him homage. The Galatians upon his approach forsook their towns and cities, and retired to the tops of high mountains with their effects and provisions. He vanquished the several nations of them (the Tolistoboi, Tectosagi, and Trocmi) successively, and reduced them to sue for peace. He would not treat with them upon the spot, but made them send their deputies to Ephesus, whither he retired with his army, and thither likewise repaired the ambassadors of all the princes of Asia with presents and submissions.


Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-eight.

263d Consulship.

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 12.

c. 19.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
seven.

  
264th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 35.

IN Italy M. Valerius Messala, one of the consuls chosen for the new year, was ordered to Pisa, to watch the motions of the Ligurians, who had committed some recent hostilities against the Romans : and C. Livius Salinator, the other consul, had Gaul decreed him for his province. Fulvius and Manlius were continued in their respective commands as pro-consuls. Q. Fabius Labeo, the Roman admiral, had at this time a triumph granted him for only recovering from the Cretans four thousand Roman slaves ; though he had fought no battle to rescue them, and they had been delivered up to him, as soon as he appeared off the island with his fleet, and demanded them. By a census taken this year, the number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms amounted to two hundred fifty-eight thousand three hundred and eight.

To return to the affairs of Greece : Fulvius had in his consulship taken possession of the island of Cephallenia, which the Romans had reserved to themselves in their treaty with Ætolia, and which was a very convenient acquisition, as opening a way, for their legions, into Peloponnesus ; from which it was but about twenty-four miles distant. Some differences now happening between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, Fulvius, judging the matter to be of great importance, thought proper to refer it to the senate. The conscript fathers passed an ambiguous decree, which each party might interpret in its own favour ; and this occasioned the two republics to begin hostilities. Philo-

c. 30.



pæmen, who commanded the Achæans, led his army to Lacedæmon, and by some acts of severity so terrified the Lacedæmonians, that they became servilely submissive. At his command they demolished their walls, renounced the laws of Lycurgus, which they had observed seven hundred years, and subjected themselves to those of Achaia.

The ten commissioners appointed by the republic to settle the affairs of Asia landed at Ephesus with king Eumenes. From thence they went to Apamea, where the proconsul Manlius met them; and they all together put the last hand to the treaty with Antiochus. Besides the articles formerly mentioned, it contained, that the king should deliver up all his long ships; that for the future he should have no more than ten armed galleys; that he should not sail beyond the promontory of Calycadnus, unless to carry to Rome ambassadors, hostages, or tribute; that he should deliver up all his elephants, and never train any more of those animals. Among the hostages demanded, the king's son, Antiochus, was one. Then they settled the bounds of the dominions of Eumenes and the Rhodians. Lycia and Caria to the river Mæander, except the town of Telmissus, were given to the latter; Lysimachia with the Chersonesus in Europe, the two Phrygias, both the Mysias, Lycaonia, with Epheusus, Telmissus, the other towns in Asia, to the former: the Romans reserved no part of the conquered countries for themselves. They were

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DLXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-seven.

264th Consulship.

Polyb. Legat. 35.  
Livy, B. 38. c. 38.

Year of  
R O M E  
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Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-seven.

264th Consulship.

satisfied, for the present, with having extended the glory of their name, and the terror of their arms, and with the immense spoils in gold, silver, and rich moveables, which they carried from Asia.

When Manlius and his army had crossed the Hellespont in their way home, they were attacked by a body of ten thousand Thracians, in a narrow pass, in a wood, where the Romans could not form themselves in order of battle. This danger escaped, yet with the loss of great part of the spoil, they continued their march through Thessaly and Epirus, and at length arrived at Apollonia, where they were to embark; but the season being now far advanced, the proconsul passed the winter there.

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Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-seven.

265th Consulship.

Livy, B. 38. c. 42.

In the meantime M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Flaminius, having succeeded to the consulate, would fain have passed into Greece and Asia; but as these countries were now quiet, [and had lately been pretty well plundered] the senate insisted upon their going to those places where the republic had yet enemies to subdue; and obliged them both to march against the Ligurians. The consuls obeyed, and, by the success they met with, pacified all between Etruria and the Alps.

At length Manlius arrived from Apollonia, and demanded a triumph of the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona. His request met with opposition from some of the ten commissioners, who had been sent into Asia. They objected, that he had not only undertaken his

expedition against the Galatians without the orders of the republic, but had carried on the war more like a robber than a Roman consul; and that his victories were too easy to merit any reward. They taxed him also with want of conduct, for suffering the Thracians to rob him in his return home<sup>1</sup>. Manlius pleaded, that the Gauls in Asia having assisted Antiochus, were proper objects of the resentment of the Romans; mentioned the battles he had won; and excused as well as he could his disaster in Thrace. After a long debate, the assembly decreed him a triumph.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-six.  
265th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 38.  
c. 45.

## CHAP. VIII.


*Scipio Africanus arraigned before the Roman people.—Scipio Asiaticus arraigned and condemned.*

THE present year was made very remarkable by the public prosecution of two men, whose eminent services to their country, it might naturally be thought, would have preserved them from any open attacks upon their fame or fortune. Scipio Africanus and his brother Asiaticus were successively accused before the people of taking bribes from Antiochus, and embezzling the public money.

<sup>1</sup> Livy makes one of the accusations against Manlius to have been his having formed a design to lead his army over Mount Taurus, the fatal boundary of the Roman empire, as it was then called, on account of some verses in the Sybilline oracles, threatening slaughter and destruction to those Roman armies which should pass that limit.



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One hun-  
dred eighty-  
six.

  
265th Con-  
sulship.

Aul. Gell.  
B. 4. c. 18.

At the instigation of Cato, as some authors report, two tribunes, both of the name of Petilius, moved in the senate, that Africanus might be obliged to give an account of all the money received from the king of Syria, and of the spoil taken in that war. Scipio rising up, and drawing a book out of his bosom, "In this," said he, "is contained an exact account of all you want to know; of all the money, and all the spoil."—"Read it aloud then," said the tribunes, "and let it afterwards be deposited in the treasury."—"No," replied Scipio, "that I will not do. I shall not put such an affront upon myself:" and instantly he tore the book to pieces before their eyes.

Livy, B. 38.  
c. 50. ct seq.

After this, a tribune named M. Nævius cited him to answer before the people to the accusations above mentioned. The prosecution of this great man was variously judged of. Some thought it an instance of the most shameful ingratitude, and more detestable than that of the Carthaginians in banishing Hannibal. Others said, that no citizen, how eminent soever, ought to be considered as above the laws, or too worthy to be accountable. "What man can safely be trusted with any thing, not to say with the public administration, if he is not to be answerable for his conduct? Force can be no injustice against him who will not endure a fair trial."

Nævius had no direct proof of his charge. He supported it only by surmises and presumptions. He took notice, that Scipio's son had

been restored to him by Antiochus without ransom; adding, that the Syrian had paid court to him, as if peace or war with Rome depended upon him alone: that Scipio had acted more like a dictator than a lieutenant to his brother the consul; and had gone into Asia with no other view, but to persuade the Greeks and all the eastern nations (as he had formerly done the Gauls, Spaniards, Sicilians, and Africans) that one man was the pillar and support of the Roman empire; that Rome, the mistress of the world, lay in shelter under the shadow of Scipio, and that his nods had succeeded to the decrees of the senate and the commands of the people. The tribune also revived the old accusations relating to his luxury at Syracuse, and the affair of Pleminius. Scipio disdained to answer. It happened to be the anniversary of the battle of Zama. After saying something in general of his merit and services, he thus continued: "On this day, Romans, I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Ill would it become us to spend it in wranglings and contention. Let us not be ungrateful to the gods. Let us leave this rascal here, and go to the capitol; there to return thanks to the great Jupiter, for that victory and peace, which, beyond all expectation, I procured for the republic." Instantly the tribes began to move; and the whole assembly followed him, except the tribune himself and the public crier.

Scipio, notwithstanding this memorable triumph over his accuser Nævius, was again cited

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Aul. Gell.  
B. 4. c. 18.  
says, that  
all agree  
that Scipio  
spoke these  
words.

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DLXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
six.

265th Con-  
sulship.

by the two Petiliuses, to answer to the same accusations. It is not improbable that the tearing his accounts furnished his enemies with the chief advantage they had against him. He now gave way to the storm, and retired to Linternum, not far from Naples. L. Scipio appeared for him, and said that he was sick; an excuse which did not satisfy his accusers; they were going on to get him condemned by default, when some of the tribunes, at the entreaty of L. Scipio, interposed, and obtained to have a new day named for the trial. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, one of the tribunes, who had been always an avowed enemy of the Scipios, but was a man of great probity, would not suffer his name to be added to those of his colleagues in the decree. He declared, that he not only thought Scipio's excuse sufficient, but, if he came to Rome, and asked his assistance, would put an end to the process. He added, "P. Scipio, by his exploits, the honours conferred on him by the republic, the consent of gods and men, is raised to such a height, that to make him stand as a criminal before the rostra, and bear the reproaches and insults of young men, is a greater dishonour to the Roman people than to him. Will no merit, no dignities ever procure a sanctuary for great men, where their old age, if not revered, may at least be inviolate?" This unexpected declaration from an old enemy of the Scipios had a great effect on the multitude, and even on the accusers themselves; who said they would take time to consider what was fit for them



to do. The senate presently after assembled, and ordered thanks to be returned to Tib. Gracchus for having made his private resentment give way to the public good. The prosecution was dropped. Africanus, without any desire of returning to Rome, spent the remainder of his days at Liternum; and there, at his death, he ordered his body to be buried <sup>1</sup>.

Scipio Asiaticus stood his trial, and was condemned, together with one of his lieutenants and his quæstor, as guilty all three of having defrauded the treasury of great sums of money received by them in Asia for the public account. The lieutenant and the quæstor gave security to pay what was judged to be due from them; Scipio refused to give bail, still insisting, that he had accounted for all he had received. They were going to lead him to prison, when Tib. Gracchus interposed. He said, he would not indeed hinder the proper officer from raising the money <sup>2</sup> out of Scipio's effects, but would never

<sup>1</sup> It is not certainly known when he died, and Livy, who tells the story of the trial, more amply than it is related above, says that authors so differ about the circumstances of the prosecution, that he knows not what to believe. In these particulars, however, most of them agree; that Scipio was publicly prosecuted, that he tore his book of accounts, that he disdained to answer at his trial, that he carried away the people to the capitol, that he was afterwards cited again, and that he then retired.

It is also uncertain which of the brothers was first prosecuted.

<sup>2</sup> Livy thinks it amounted to four millions of the smaller sesterces, which, according to Arbuthnot, make, of our money, 32,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and says, that Val. Antias must be mistaken when he makes it amount to fifty times that sum.

Year of  
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DLXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-six.

265th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
six.

265th Con-  
sulship.

Aul. Gel.  
B. 7. c. 19.  
Livy, B. 39.  
c. 8. et seq.

suffer a Roman general to be thrown into the same prison in which the generals of the enemy, taken by him in battle, had been confined. His effects being seized and appraised, were not found to be of value sufficient to pay the sum in question; nor was there any thing amongst them which could be deemed to have been brought from Asia. The friends and relations of Asiaticus would, by presents, have more than made up his loss, but he refused to accept of any thing beyond bare necessaries. In return for the generous part Gracchus had acted, the Scipios gave him in marriage Cornelia, the daughter of Africanus.

Year of  
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DLXVII.  
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One hun-  
dred eighty-  
five.

266th Con-  
sulship.

The consulship of Sp. Posthumius Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus was chiefly spent in suppressing and punishing a monstrous society of debauchees, which had been formed at Rome under the name of Bacchanalians. In the end of the year Marcius was defeated by the Ligurians, and lost four thousand of his men.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Roman senate send two commissions successively into Macedon to take cognizance of Philip's proceedings. The commissioners treat him hardly.—The Romans exercise a tyrannic power in Achaia.—Lycortas, prætor of the state, remonstrates against it in vain; and the Achæans through fear submit.*

IN the beginning of the consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, three commissioners, the chief of whom

was Q. Cæcilius Metellus, were sent into Greece to terminate certain disputes of the king of Macedon with the king of Pergamus and some states of Greece.

Philip, since his peace with Rome, had neglected nothing to strengthen himself against a new war, whenever it should be unavoidable. He had increased his revenues by promoting trade, and by the profits of his mines, in which he employed a great number of men. To recruit his people, exhausted by the late wars, he not only encouraged marriages and the bringing up of children, but transplanted into Macedon a great multitude of Thracians. These being strangers to the Romans, and therefore not intimidated by them, he settled them in some towns on the sea-coast, obliging the former inhabitants to remove into Emathia, anciently called Pœonia. After the victory over Antiochus in Greece, the consul Acilius had permitted the Macedonian to make war upon Amynder and the Athamanes, and to lay siege to those towns in Thessaly and Perrhæbia which belonged to the Ætolians. Philip easily expelled Amynder, and took several towns in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, and among the rest Demetrias. He also seized upon some places in Thrace. The Romans, always jealous of his power, had constantly watched his motions, and had given him several mortifications. By the treaty of peace concluded between him and T. Flamininus, it had been referred to the determination of the senate, whether certain

Year of  
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DLXVIII.  
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One hundred eighty-four.

267th Consulship.

Polyb. de  
Virt. et  
Vit. p.  
1436.  
Livy, B. 40.  
c. 3.

B. 39. c. 23.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
four.

267th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 25. et  
seq.

towns of Macedon, which had revolted from the king during the time of a truce with the Romans, should be restored to him; and the fathers had given sentence against him. They had also confirmed Amynder in the possession of great part of his dominions which the Ætolians had recovered from the Macedonian. And now Amynder claimed the rest of his towns. The Thessalians and Perrhæbians likewise demanded back theirs; alleging, that though Philip had taken them from the Ætolians, yet these had only usurped them. Some of the complainants broke out into harsh invectives against the king; which he answered with heat and haughtiness. The Roman commissioners finished the whole affair by a short decree, that Philip should withdraw his garrisons from all the places in question, and confine himself, on that side, within the ancient bounds of the kingdom of Macedon.

Then they removed to Thessalonica, to hear the complaints of the ambassadors from Eumenes king of Pergamus, who pretended that the cities of Maronæa and Ænus, now possessed by Philip, of right belonged to their master; because by their nearness they seemed appendages of Chersonesus and Lysimachia, which he had received, by grant, from the senate of Rome. The Maronites also complained, that their town had been seized by the Macedonian, and that his soldiers tyrannized in the place. Philip answered in a manner, that was not expected: "It is not with

the Maronites and Eumenes only that I have a controversy, but with you also, Romans, from whom I have long observed that I can obtain no justice. Some cities of Macedon had revolted from me during a truce; I thought it but just that these should be restored to me; not that they would have made any great addition to my kingdom, (for they are but small towns, and situated on the extremities of it) but such an example might have had very ill consequences with regard to my other subjects. Yet this you denied me. In the Ætolian war I was desired by the consul Acilius to besiege Lamia. After many fatigues and encounters, when I was upon the point of scaling the walls, and taking the town, Acilius forced me to withdraw my troops. As some compensation for this injury, I was permitted to recover a few castles (as they should be called, rather than towns) of Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania. These you took from me a few days ago.

“Eumenes’s ambassadors just now mentioned it as a truth beyond all dispute, that it is more equitable to give what Antiochus formerly held; to their master, than to me. I am quite of another opinion. Eumenes could not have held his kingdom, not only if you had not been victorious, but if you had not made war upon Antiochus. Eumenes therefore is obliged to you, not you to him. But so little was any part of my kingdom in danger from the Syrian, that he voluntarily offered me, as the price of an alliance, three thousand talents, fifty ships of

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One hundred eighty-  
four.

267th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
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DLXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
four.

267th Con-  
sulship.

war, and all the Greek cities which I had formerly held. These offers I rejected; nor did I dissemble my being an enemy to him, even before Acilius led your army into Greece. After the consul's arrival, I conducted whatever part of the war he committed to me; and when Scipio marched his forces by land to the Hellespont, I not only gave him a safe passage through my dominions, but made good roads for him, built bridges, and supplied him with provisions. Not contented with this, I took the same care of his passage through Thrace, where, besides other things, I had to guard against his being attacked by the Barbarians. For this my zeal, not to call it merit, ought you not rather to have added something to my kingdom, and amplified it by your munificence, than (as you now do) to take from me what I already possess, either in my own right, or by your favour? The cities of Macedon, which you own to have been justly mine, are not restored. Eumenes comes to spoil me, as he did Antiochus; and to cover a most impudent falsehood, cites the decree of the ten commissioners, than which decree nothing can be a clearer confutation of his pretensions. It is there indeed plainly and expressly said, that the Chersonesus and Lysimachia are given to Eumenes. But where is there any mention made of Enos, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace? What he did not dare so much as to ask of the commissioners, shall he obtain from you, as in consequence of a grant from them? Upon what



footing am I to be for the future? If you propose to pursue me as an enemy, go on as you have begun; but if you have any regard for me as a king in friendship and alliance with you, I beg you would not offer me so great an indignity."

The ambassadors are said to have been moved with the king's discourse; to which they made this perplexed answer. "If the cities in question have been given to Eumenes by the decree of the ten commissioners, we will change nothing in that disposition. If Philip has taken them in war, he shall hold them as the reward of victory. If neither of these be true, the cognizance of the affair shall be referred to the senate of Rome; and in the meantime Philip shall withdraw his garrisons, that things may be upon an equal footing between the two parties."

To this harsh treatment of Philip by the Romans, Livy imputes that war, which his son Perses afterwards made against them, and which he received as it were by legacy from his father.

The Roman commissioners from Macedon went into Achaia, from whence, much dissatisfied with the Achæans, they returned to Rome (where P. Claudius Pulcher and L. Porcius Licinus had been chosen consuls for the new year.) They gave an account of their negotiation to the senate, and at the same time introduced the ambassadors of Philip and Eumenes, and also those from the Thessalians, Lacedæ-

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One hundred eighty-four.

267th Consulship.

Year of  
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DLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-three.

268th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

268th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 33.

Polybius  
Legat. 41,  
42.

Polybius  
Legat. 41.  
Livy, B. 39.  
c. 34.

monians, and Achæans. It was nothing but a repetition of the same complaints and same answers that had been made in Greece. The senate appointed a new commission, at the head of which was Appius Claudius, to go into Macedon and Greece, and examine whether the Thessalians and Perrhæbians were put into possession of those towns which Philip had promised to deliver up to them; and to order him to evacuate Ænos, Maronea, and all the places he held on the seacoast of Thrace. They were also directed to go into Peloponnesus, where the former commissioners had not done any thing, because it had been refused to convene a council to give them audience. Of this refusal Q. Cecilius, the head of that commission, complained heavily. The ambassadors from Lacedæmon also made complaints of the Achæans; of which more hereafter. As to Cæcilius's charge, the Achæan ministers excused themselves by citing a law which forbade summoning a diet, unless on occasion of peace or war, or when ambassadors came from the senate with letters or written orders. That they might never more make this excuse, the senate gave them to understand, that as they, whenever they would, might have an audience of the fathers at Rome, it was fitting that Roman ambassadors should meet with the like respect in Achaia.

When Philip, on the return of his ambassadors, had learned from them, that he must absolutely evacuate Ænos and Maronea, he took



council of his passions, and remembering that the Maronites had behaved themselves insolently, when they pleaded against him for their liberty, he gave orders to Onomastus, his lieutenant for the guard of the seacoast, to take such measures as might make them repent of their desire of freedom. Onomastus employed Cassander, one of the king's officers, who had long dwelt at Maronea, to let in a body of Thracians by night, that they might sack the town, and exercise in it all cruelties of war. This was done, but so resented by the Roman ambassadors, who had better intelligence of these proceedings than could have been imagined, that they directly charged the king with the crime; which, they said, was no less an insult on the Roman people, who had undertaken the protection of the Maronites, than a cruelty to the innocent sufferers. Philip denied his having had any share in the bloody act, and laid it upon the Maronites themselves; affirming that they, in the heat of their factions and quarrels, (some being inclinable to him, others to Eumenes) had cut one another's throats. Nay, he made no scruple to propose to the ambassadors to examine the Maronites themselves; as well knowing, that they, terrified by the late execution of his vengeance, durst not accuse him; because he would still be in their neighbourhood, and the Romans not near enough to protect them. Appius Claudius answered, that it was needless to make inquiries about a thing already known; that he was well

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-  
three.



268th Con-  
sulship.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXIX.  
Ref. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-  
three.

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informed of what had been done, and by whom; and if the king would clear himself, he must send Onomastus and Cassander to Rome, there to be examined by the senate. Philip at this changed colour, and was confounded; yet recovering himself, he said, that Cassander should be at their disposition: but as to Onomastus, who had not been at Maronea, nor near it at the time of the slaughter, he refused to give him up. His true reason was, that he feared lest a man, who had been much in his confidence, and whom he had employed in many such execrable commissions, might reveal other secrets to the senate besides what regarded the Maronites: and that Cassander might tell no tales, he took care to have him poisoned in his way to Italy. The Roman ambassadors at their departure let the king plainly see that they were dissatisfied with his conduct: he began to fear that he should have a war to sustain before he was sufficiently prepared for it. To gain time, he resolved to employ his younger son Demetrius as his ambassador to the senate; with whom the young prince had acquired much favour when he was a hostage in Rome.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 36.

The same ambassadors who had been with Philip, made their progress through the rest of Greece, and took cognizance of the complaints of some banished Lacedæmonians against the Achæans, for having beat down the walls of Lacedæmon, slaughtered many of the citizens, and abolished the laws of Lycurgus. To these

accusations Lycortas, (the father of Polybius the historian) prætor of Achaia, answered, "that the complainants were notoriously the very men who had committed the murders they complained of: that as to throwing down the walls of Lacedæmon, it was perfectly agreeable to Lycurgus's institution, who had forbid his citizens all kinds of fortification: that the tyrants of Lacedæmon, who built those walls, had in effect abolished the ordinances of Lycurgus, governing the city by their own lawless will; and that the Achæans, not knowing any better laws than their own, had communicated them to the Lacedæmonians, whom they found in reality without laws, or any tolerable polity, and had associated to the other states of Peloponnesus.

He concluded with words to this effect: "The Achæans, being friends and faithful allies of Rome, think it strange to see themselves thus compelled to give an account of their actions, as vassals and slaves to the Roman people. If the voice of Flaminius's\* herald was not an empty sound, why might not we as well inquire about your proceedings at Capua, as you take cognizance of what we have done at Lacedæmon. You will say, perhaps, that, by the league between us, we are only in appearance free; in reality, subject to Rome. I am sensible of it, Appius; and, if I must not, I will not be angry. But I beseech you, whatever distance there be between the Romans and Achæans, let not us your allies be upon the

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same, not to say a worse foot with you than enemies; your enemies and ours. That the Lacedæmonians might be upon an equality with us, we gave them our own laws, and made them a part of the Achæan body. The vanquished, not content with the laws and privileges which satisfy the victors, would have us violate compacts that have been confirmed by the most solemn oaths. No, Romans, we honour you, and, if you will, we fear you too, but we reverence more, we dread more, the immortal gods." Appius had little to reply, and was therefore very brief. Thinking it no time for gentle management, he only advised the diet, "by a ready compliance to merit favour, while they might, and not to wait till they were compelled to obedience." The assembly heard this imperious language with inward rage; yet, fear prevailing, they only desired that the Romans would themselves make what change they pleased with regard to the Lacedæmonians, and not force the Achæans, by any act of their own, sacrilegiously to break their oaths.

#### CHAP. X.

*Cato chosen censor against the inclination of the nobles.—  
His conduct in that office.*

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 40. et seq.  
Plut. Life of  
Cato.

**THERE** happened, this year, a remarkable struggle amongst the great men of Rome, for the office of censor. Cato being one of the candidates, the nobles, who not only envied him



as a new man, but dreaded his severity, set up against him seven powerful competitors. Valerius Flaccus, who had introduced him into public life, and had been his colleague in the consulship, was a ninth candidate; and these two united their interests. On this occasion Cato, far from employing soft words to the people, or giving hopes of gentleness and complaisance in the execution of the office, loudly declared from the rostra, with a threatening look and voice: "That the times required firm and vigorous magistrates to put a stop to that growing luxury which menaced the republic with ruin; censors, who would cut up the evil by the roots, and restore the rigour of ancient discipline." It is to the honour of the people of Rome, that, notwithstanding these terrible intimations, they preferred him to all his competitors, who courted them by promises of a mild and easy administration. The *comitia* also appointed his friend Valerius to be his colleague, without whom, he had declared, that he could not hope to compass the reformatations he had in view.

Cato's merit, upon the whole, was superior to that of any of the great men who stood against him. He was temperate, brave, and indefatigable, frugal of the public money, and not to be corrupted. There is scarce any talent requisite for public or private life which he had not received from nature, or by industry acquired. He was a great soldier, an able statesman, an eloquent orator, a learned historian,

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and very knowing in rural affairs. Yet with all these accomplishments, he had great faults. His ambition being poisoned with envy, disturbed both his own peace and that of the whole city as long as he lived. Though he would not take bribes, he was unmerciful and unconscionable in amassing wealth, by all such methods as the law did not punish. It was one of his sayings, according to Plutarch, that "the man the most to be admired, the most glorious, the most divine, was he, at whose death it appeared by his accounts, that he had added more to his patrimony than the whole value of it."

The first act of Cato in his new office, was naming his colleague to be prince of the senate; after which, the censors struck out of the list of the senators the names of seven persons; among whom was Lucius, the brother of Titus Flamininus. Lucius, when consul, and commanding in Gaul, had with his own hand murdered a Boian of distinction, a deserter to the Romans; and he had committed this murder purely to gratify the curiosity of his pathic, a young Carthaginian, who, longing to see somebody die a violent death, had reproached the general for bringing him away from Rome just when there was going to be a fight of gladiators.

Titus Flamininus, full of indignation at the dishonour done to his brother, brought the affair before the people; and insisted upon Cato's giving the reason of his proceeding. The censor related the story; and, when Lucius denied

the fact, put him to his oath: the accused refusing to swear, was deemed guilty, and Cato's censure approved. Yet he greatly hurt his own character when, at the review of the knights, he took away the horse of Scipio Asiaticus; this act being by every body ascribed to a malicious desire of insulting the memory of Africanus.

But no part of the censor's conduct seemed so cruel to the nobles and their wives, as the taxes he laid upon luxury in all its branches; dress, household furniture, women's toilets, chariots, slaves, and equipage<sup>1</sup>. The people however, in general, were pleased with his regulations, insomuch that they ordered a statue to be erected<sup>2</sup> to his honour in the Temple of Health, with an inscription that mentioned nothing of his victories or triumph, but imported only, that by his wise ordinances in his censorship he had reformed the manners of the republic.

<sup>1</sup> These articles were all taxed at three per cent. of the real value.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch relates, that before this, upon some of Cato's friends expressing to him their surprise, that while many persons without merit or reputation had statues, he had none; he answered, "I had much rather it should be asked, why the people have not erected a statue to Cato, than why they have."

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## CHAP. XI.

*Complaints brought to Rome from Greece and Asia against Philip of Macedon.—The senate make a decree in relation to a dispute between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians.—The death of Philopœmen.—The death of Hannibal.*

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Q. FABIVS  
LABEO and  
M. CLAV-  
DIUS MAR-  
CELLVS,  
Consuls.  
Polybius  
Legat. 46.  
Livy, B. 39.  
c. 46.

WHEN it was universally known that the conscript fathers would receive accusations against the king of Macedon, from whatever quarter they should come; the city, in a short time, swarmed with ambassadors from the numerous states of Greece. King Eumenes, who never wanted matter of invective against Philip, sent ministers to Rome without delay. And even some private men went thither with complaints of personal injuries. After the several complainants had delivered themselves in the senate, it lay upon Demetrius, now ambassador from his father, to answer all. The senators, considering his youth, and how unequal he was to the task of disputing with so many artful wranglers; and observing also how much he was embarrassed (as indeed were they themselves) by the abundance and variety of the matters objected, asked him, whether his father had not furnished him with some notes to help his memory? and, he owning that he had a little book for that purpose, they desired him to read aloud what it contained in relation to the points in question. The truth was, they had no desire to hear the son declaim, but to find out with

certainly what the father thought and intended : and thus much the memorial discovered ; that the king was excessively piqued ; for up and down in it were scattered such expressions as these : “ Although Cæcilius and the other ambassadors did not deal fairly by me in this business—although this was unjustly given against me—notwithstanding the ill treatment and the insults I have undeservedly met with on all hands.—”

Demetrius excused, as well as he could, whatever facts had given offence, and were not to be denied ; promising an exact conformity, for the future, to the good pleasure of the senate. The fathers answered : “ That Philip could not have done any thing more prudent, or more agreeable to them, than sending his son Demetrius to make his apology : that they could overlook, forget, bear with many past provocations ; and believed they might confide in Demetrius’s promises : that though he was returning into Macedon, his heart, they knew, would remain with them as a hostage ; and that, as far as was consistent with filial piety, he would always be a friend to the Roman people : that out of regard to him they would send ambassadors into Macedon to set to rights, in an easy and amicable manner, whatever had been done amiss ; and for their so doing, they would have Philip sensible, that he was indebted to his son Demetrius.”

The dispute between the Lacedæmonians and the Achæans was the next affair that came

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under the deliberation of the senate; and they pronounced a decree to the following effect: that those of the Lacedæmonians, who had been sentenced to death by the Achæans, had been unjustly condemned; and that the banished should be restored; but that Lacedæmon should remain a member of the Achæan body.

Q. Marcius, appointed ambassador to the court of Macedon, had orders to go also into Peloponnesus, not only to put in execution what was now decreed, but to take cognizance of some new commotions there, occasioned by the Messenians breaking off from the Achæan association, and setting up for an independent state. One Dinocrates was come to Rome to solicit their cause. This man having learned that T. Flamininus, named ambassador to Bithynia, would in his way thither pass through Greece, applied himself to him; who being an inveterate enemy of Philopœmen, was easily engaged in the interest of the Messenians. Dinocrates imagined he had now gained his point, and he accompanied the Roman to Nau-pactus: whence as soon as they landed, Flamininus wrote to the prætor Philopœmen, and other principal magistrates of Achaia, to con-voke a diet. The magistrates, knowing that Flamininus had no commission from the senate in relation to the affairs of Greece, returned answer, "That they would do as he desired, if by letter he would signify what the business was which he had to lay before the assembly; an intimation of it to the people, previous to



their meeting, being by the laws absolutely necessary." The Roman not thinking it advisable to put his business in writing, all the high expectations of Dinocrates and the Messenians fell to the ground.

Soon after, Philopœmen, having levied such forces as in haste he could, marched against the Messenians, who, under the conduct of Dinocrates, had begun hostilities. In a skirmish which ensued, and while the Achæan general gallantly exposed his person, to secure the retreat of his men, overpowered by numbers, he was, by the falling of his horse, thrown to the ground, and taken prisoner. The enemy carried him bound to Messene<sup>1</sup>, and there shortly after put him to death.

<sup>1</sup> When Philopœmen was brought prisoner to Messene, the multitude, pitying the misfortune of so great a man, and remembering with gratitude some good offices he had formerly done their city, and also thinking that by his means an end might be put to the present war, universally inclined to spare him. But Dinocrates and his party, the authors of the revolt, and who had the government in their hands, hurried him out of sight of the people, under pretence of asking him some questions relating to the present state of things. And not daring to trust him in the custody of any one man, even for a night, they put him down, fast bound, into a kind of vault or cavern, where they used to keep their treasure in time of war, and the mouth of which they covered with a great stone moved by an engine. Philopœmen, now seventy years of age, just recovered from a long illness, and grievously wounded in the head by a fall when taken prisoner, lay in this place, without light and without air, while his enemies were debating what to do with him. The fear they had of his resentment, should he be set at liberty, made them determine to put him to death without delay; for which pur-

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Livy, B. 39.  
c. 49.

c. 49, 50.  
Plut. Life of  
Philopœ-  
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This year is said by some authors to have been remarkable for the death of three most illustrious generals, Scipio, Philopœmen, and Hannibal. But Livy contends, that Scipio must have been dead at the time<sup>2</sup> when Cato entered on his censorship; because this censor named his colleague Vallerius to be president of the senate, a dignity which Scipio Africanus had held for the three preceding lustra, and of which he would not have been deprived during his life, without being expelled the senate, and of such expulsion there is not the least hint in any author.

As to Hannibal, it has been before observed, that Antiochus covenanted with the Romans to deliver him up, but was prevented by his flight into Crete; whence he afterwards went into Bithynia, to king Prusias, and did him eminent service in his wars. It has been also mentioned, that the senate employed Flamininus on an embassy to Prusias. The pretence

pose they let down the executioner into the vault. Philopœmen was lying stretched upon his cloak, when seeing a man standing by him with a lamp in one hand, and a cup of poison in the other, he with difficulty raised himself, and taking the cup, asked him, "whether he knew any thing of Lycortas and the Megalopolitan horsemen." The executioner answering, "that they had almost all escaped;" "It is well," replied Philopœmen, "we are not every way unfortunate;" then, without the least mark of discomposure, he drank off the poison, and laying himself down upon his cloak, soon after expired.

Divine honours were afterwards paid to him by his countrymen; and he was styled, as Plutarch tells us, the last of the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero [de Senect.] makes Cato say the same thing.

for it was, to make him desist from hostilities against the king of Pergamus; but it seems probable, that the chief business of Flamininus was to terrify the Bithynian into a base betraying of his Carthaginian guest<sup>3</sup>. Prusias, if we may believe Plutarch, earnestly entreated the Roman ambassador not to press him to so dishonourable an action: but Livy tells us, that the cowardly king complied upon the first demand. Hannibal, well acquainted with Prusias's character, had in the castle of Libyssa, where he resided, formed certain subterraneous passages, whereby to make his escape in case of danger. Word being brought him, that the castle was surrounded by soldiers, he had recourse to his passages. When he found that the issues of these were also beset, he did not hesitate a moment in preferring death to captivity. Taking into his hand a poison<sup>4</sup> which he had long kept ready against such an exigence, he said: Let us deliver Rome from her perpetual fears and disquiet, since she has not patience to wait for the death of an old man<sup>5</sup>. Flamininus's victory over an enemy unarmed and betrayed will not do him much honour with posterity." Then having invoked the gods to take vengeance upon Prusias for

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Justin. B.  
32. c. 4.  
Plut. Life of  
Flamin.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Valerius Antias (ap. Liv. B. 39, c. 56,) says expressly, that Flamininus, L. Scipio Asiaticus, and P. Scipio Nasica, were sent ambassadors to Prusias to procure the death of Hannibal.

<sup>4</sup> According to Juvenal, Hannibal kept this poison in a ring. *Juven. Sat. 10.*

<sup>5</sup> He was about sixty-five.



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\* Rollin.

Hist. Rom.

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his violation of hospitality, he swallowed the poison and died.

\*A late pious and learned author of a Roman history\*, after relating the death of Hannibal and Scipio, draws the characters of those two celebrated captains; compares them, and then leaves it to his reader to give the preference as he shall see cause. He enumerates the talents and qualities that make a complete general. 1. Extensive genius to form and execute great designs. 2. Profound secrecy. 3. A thorough acquaintance with the characters of the generals with whom he is to fight. 4. Attention to keep his troops under strict discipline. 5. A plain, sober, frugal, laborious manner of living. 6. Skill in an equal degree to employ force and stratagem. 7. Prudence to avoid hazarding his person without necessity. 8. Art and ability for conducting a battle. 9. The talents of speaking well, and dexterously managing the minds of men.

Our author gives a summary of what the historians have said to the praise of both commanders, in these respects; and from the whole, is inclined to think that Hannibal has the advantage. "There are, however, two difficulties which hinder him from deciding: one drawn from the characters of the generals whom Hannibal vanquished; the other, from the errors he committed. May it not be said, (continues our author) that those victories which have made Hannibal so famous, were as much owing to the imprudence and temerity of the Roman generals, as to his bravery and skill? When a Fabius, and afterwards a Scipio, was sent against him, the first stopped his progress at once, the other conquered him."

I do not see why these difficulties should check our author's inclination to declare in favour of the Carthaginian. That Fabius was not beaten by Hannibal, we cannot much wonder, when we remember how steadily the old man kept his resolution never to fight with him. But from Fabius's taking this method to put a stop to the victories of the enemy, may we not conclude that he knew no other, and thought Hannibal an over-match for him? And why does our author forget Publius Scipio, (Africanus's father) a prudent and able general, whom Hannibal vanquished

at the Ticin? Livy relates some victories of Hannibal over the celebrated Marcellus; but neither Marcellus, nor any other general, ever vanquished Hannibal before the battle of Zama, if we may believe Polybius (B. 15. c. 16.) Terentius Varro indeed is represented as a headstrong, rash man; but the battle of Cannæ was not lost by his imprudence. The order in which he drew up his army is nowhere condemned; and chevalier Folard thinks it excellent. And as to the conduct of the battle, Æmilius Paulus, a renowned captain, a disciple of Fabius, had a greater share in it than his colleague. The imprudence with which Varro is taxed, was his venturing, against his colleague's advice, with above 90,000 men, to encounter, in a plain field, an enemy who had only 50,000, but was superior in horse. And does not the very advice of Æmilius, and the charge of temerity on Varro for not following it, imply a confession of Hannibal's superiority, in military skill, over Æmilius, as well as Varro? It ought likewise to be observed, that Hannibal's infantry had gained the victory over the Roman infantry, before this latter suffered any thing from the Carthaginian cavalry. It was otherwise when Scipio gained the victory at Zama. His infantry would probably have been vanquished but for his cavalry. Hannibal, with only his third line of foot, (his Italian army) maintained a long fight against Scipio's three lines of foot, and seems to have had the advantage over them, when Masinissa and Lælius, with the horse, came to their assistance. Polybius indeed says, that Hannibal's Italian forces were equal in number to all Scipio's infantry; but this is contradicted by Livy, and is not very credible. The authority of Polybius, who was an intimate friend of Scipio Æmilianus, is, I imagine, of but little weight, in matters where the glory of the Scipios is particularly concerned. His partiality and flattery to them are in many instances but too visible.

The errors of which Hannibal is accused are, his not marching to Rome immediately after his victory at Cannæ, and his suffering his troops to ruin themselves by debauchery at Capua.

Our author himself seems to believe, that the first was not really an error. [See what has been said upon this head, Vol. iv. p. 342. n. 15.]

As to the second charge, it is a manifest slander. The behaviour of Hannibal and of his troops, after they came

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out of their winter quarters at Capua, is a sufficient proof that they had lost nothing of their martial spirit\*. If Hannibal's soldiers were so unmannered as Livy would have us believe, why did not the Romans drive them out of Italy? How came the Carthaginian to be conqueror in every action, great and small, as, Polybius says, he was†?

After speaking of the errors imputed to the Carthaginian, our author adds, "As for Scipio, I do not know that any thing like these was ever objected to him." He forgets that neglect of discipline was frequently objected to Scipio by Fabius and Cato; unjustly perhaps, but not more unjustly than it is objected to Hannibal by Livy.

Our author, having considered both generals with respect to their military qualities, adds to his discourse a section with the title of MORAL AND CIVIL VIRTUES. And, "Here it is (says he) that Scipio triumphs.—The reader will not be much at a loss in whose favour to declare; especially if he looks upon the shocking portrait which Livy has left us of Hannibal." But our author himself, after looking upon this portrait, judges that it does not resemble the original; there being no mention, in Polybius or Plutarch, of that cruelty, perfidiousness, and irreligion, with which Livy charges the Carthaginian. The reader may therefore be at a loss in whose favour to decide, notwithstanding any thing that Livy has said, or any thing that our author has said, or is going to say; for he declines making a parallel of these two generals with regard to moral and civil virtues [the virtues of a good citizen.] "He will content himself (he says) with mentioning some of those which in Scipio shined the most." Whether these brightnesses are such as give our author cause to say, *C'est ici le triomphe de Scipion*, we shall presently see.

He ranges the virtues in the following order:

#### I. Generosity, Liberality.

He tells us, that Scipio freely parted with his money, and mentions his wonderful generosity in restoring the Spanish hostages without ransom.

Now we find that Hannibal had the very same virtues, or, to speak more properly, made use of the same policy. He parted with his money to purchase the friendship of the Gauls; and when, by his victories in Italy, he had taken great numbers of Italians prisoners; he set free, without ransom, all that were not Romans.

\* See vol. iv. p. 361 and 375, n. 4.

† B. 15. c. 11 and 16.



II. *Gentleness, Benignity.*

We are told that Scipio treated his officers politely, that he praised and rewarded those who had performed well.

From the words which Livy puts into Hannibal's\* mouth, just before the battle of the Ticin, there is reason to conclude that he acted in the like manner. Whether Hannibal would have been so gentle to mutineers as Scipio was at the Sucro, (and for which our author extols him) it is not easy to say: his temper having never been tried by a mutiny among his soldiers. Nor do I well conceive how Scipio, consistently with common prudence, could, in his situation, have been more severe. He put to death all the ringleaders of the sedition, thirty-five in number.

But certainly our author is very unlucky in the instance he chooses to give of Scipio's gentleness in reproof. "His reprehensions were softened by such an air of affectionate kindness as made them amiable. The reproof he was obliged to give Masinissa, who, blinded by his passion, had married Sophonisba, a declared enemy of the Roman people, is a perfect pattern for imitation in the like delicate circumstances†." Now the reader may remember, that this gentle, amiable reproof, was accompanied with a broad hint, that Masinissa must give up the woman he had married, and was passionately in love with, to be a slave to the Romans, and led in triumph before Scipio's chariot.

III. *Justice.*

"It was by this virtue (says our author) that Scipio rendered the Roman domination so gentle and agreeable to the allies and the conquered nations, and made himself so tenderly beloved by them, that they considered him as their protector and father."

One would think that a writer so well acquainted with the history of those times, meant this remark as railery instead of panegyric. For could he really believe that either the Spaniards or the Africans found any pleasure in wearing the Roman yoke? Or that the Spaniards had a high opinion of the justice of Scipio, who came among them under pretence of delivering them from subjection to Carthage, and then reduced them under the domination of Rome? The truth is, notwithstanding all that is

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\* See vol. iv. p. 268.

† See p. 124.

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said by the historians of his justice, clemency, and benignity, he carried on the war in Spain not only with great injustice, but with great cruelty. The facts contradict the panegyric\*.

As to Scipio's shining justice in not violating the Carthaginian ambassadors, who in their return to Rome accidentally fell into his hands, it is not worth taking notice of. But (not to mention the affair of Pleminius) there is a glaring instance of his injustice recorded by Livy, (B. 44. c. 62.) and which the reader may find in p. 241 of this volume.

#### IV. *Greatness of Soul.*

In what did Scipio display this virtue? Why truly in refusing the title of king, which the Spaniards offered him; a refusal which made them wonder. But the Spaniards did not know that every senator of Rome thought himself much above any of the petty kings in Spain. Besides, can it be reckoned a proof of singular magnanimity, that a man honoured in an extraordinary manner by his country, should not, for any temptation, turn a rebel to it?

The other instance of Scipio's greatness of soul, many will perhaps think to be the greatest blemish in his character: "his disdaining to give an account of his conduct when legally summoned to do it."

I cannot but think, that Hannibal, when he freed Carthage from the tyranny of the perpetual judges; and when, by obliging the nobles to account for the public money they had embezzled, he prevented an unnecessary and oppressive tax from being imposed on the people, made a better figure as a citizen and a commonwealthsman than Scipio, when he tore his book of accounts; or when he triumphed over the tribune Nævius, by carrying away the multitude to the Capitol, that they might beg of Jupiter (as Livy says) to grant them always leaders like Scipio. And when Hannibal goes into banishment†, "lamenting the misfortunes of his country more than his own;" he certainly shows greater magnanimity than the Roman, when flying from Rome to avoid a trial; or when ordering, at his death, that his body should not be buried in his ungrateful country‡: [so ungrateful as to ask him what he had done with the public money.]

\* See p. 69, 70.

† Liv. B. 33 c. 48.

‡ Liv. B. 38. c. 53.



V. *Chastity.*

In proof of Scipio's excelling in this virtue, we have the sermon he preached to Masinissa\*, and the story of the Celtiberian beauty†. As to the latter, I would not wish the reader to believe Valerius Antias‡, who reports that Scipio acted a quite contrary part to what is given him by Livy and Polybius. But if Scipio was chaste, this gives him no right to triumph over Hannibal; for Justin tells us, that the Carthaginian was so continent, with regard to women, that nobody would have believed him to be an African§.

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two.

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sulship.

VI. *Religion.*

Our author himself has had the charity to take Hannibal's part, and to answer Livy's indictment against him for irreligion. He cites Hannibal's pilgrimage to Gades; a vision which he verily believed came to him from the gods, to foretel to him the success of his enterprise; the godly expressions in the treaty between him and king Philip; his not robbing the temple of Juno Lacinia; and lastly, his invoking the gods at the time of his death, to take vengeance on Prusias for his breach of hospitality. All these together sufficiently prove that Hannibal had religion.

As for Scipio, our author says, "he does not know, whether this Roman had read the Cyropædia, but that it is evident, he imitated Cyrus in every thing, and above all in religious worship. From the time that he put on the manly gown, that is, from the age of seventeen, he never began any business, public or private, till he had first been at the Capitol to implore the help of Jupiter." Our author goes on, "What the religion was, either of Cyrus or Scipio, is not here the question. We know very well that their religion could not but be false. But the example given to all commanders and all men, to begin and finish all their actions with prayer and thanksgiving, is for that reason the stronger. For what would they not have said and done, if they, like us, had been illuminated with the light of the true religion, and had been so happy as to know the true God?"

Were I to answer this question of our pious and learned

\* See p. 123, 124.

† See p. 48, 49.

‡ Ap. A. Gell. L. 6. c. 8.

§ B. 32. c. 4.



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author, I should say that Cyrus, Hannibal, and Scipio, had they known the true God and the true religion, would probably have said and done as the Christian conquerors and destroyers of mankind have since said and done. They would have uttered some prayers from time to time ; and on certain occasions have walked in processions : they would have had chaplains, and offices of devotion, and religious ceremonies, and fasting days, and thanksgiving days, and, with all these, would have gone on plundering and slaughtering the innocent and weak, and gloriously laying waste the world. If they had not done these mighty mischiefs, it is more than probable we should have heard little of their virtues.

I FLATTER myself that the reader will be greatly edified by the zeal expressed, in the foregoing observations, for the support of Hannibal's moral character. But should it be otherwise, I shall still be content, if I may only be excused for not attempting to draw at large the characters of those shining heroes we meet with in the Roman story. The truth is, I am unequal to the task of character-drawing ; and were I not, I should still decline it, that I might not be charged with the affectation of a new kind of colouring. For I cannot, from the actions of the Scipios, Marcellus, Flaminius, Æmilius Paullus, Mummius Achaicus, and such like worthies, form those high ideas of their virtue, which their panegyrists, both ancient and modern, would have us entertain.

## CHAP. XII.

*The Roman senate temporize with regard to the Achæans. — Philip lays a scheme to bring the Bastarnæ into Dardania. His cruelty to his subjects. — The malice of Perses to his brother Demetrius ; and the consequences of it.*

Q. MARCIUS, the Roman ambassador, who had been sent into Macedon and Greece, returned to Rome in the consulship of L. Æmilius Paullus and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. With regard to the Achæans, he reported, that he

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sulship.  
Polybius,  
Legat. 51.

found them bent to keep the direction of affairs wholly in their own hands, and to refer nothing to the arbitration of the senate; but added, that if their ambassadors, then at Rome, met with a cold reception, and if the least intimation were given them, that their proceedings displeased the conscript fathers, the Lacedæmonians would certainly follow the example of the Messenians; in which case the Achæans would soon grow submissive, and most earnestly implore the protection of Rome. When therefore the Achæan ministers, in virtue of the treaty between Rome and Achaia, demanded “assistance against the Messenians, or, if that could not be granted, that at least the sending arms or provisions from Italy to the enemy might be prohibited,” it was answered, “that should the Lacedæmonians, or the Corinthians, or the Argives disjoin themselves from the Achæan confederacy, the Achæans would have no reason to wonder if Rome looked upon it as a matter that no way concerned her.” But, notwithstanding this declaration, when the fathers learned soon after, that Lycortas, the successor of Philopœmen, had revenged his death, and reduced the Messenians to surrender at discretion, they graciously assured the same ambassadors, “that they had taken care no arms nor provisions should be carried from Italy to Messene.”

This change of language to the Achæans upon the news of the unexpected success of their arms, was perhaps owing to the near pros-

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One hun-  
dred eighty-  
one.

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sulship.

Polybius  
Legat. 53.



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R O M E  
DLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
one.

270th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 39.  
c. 53.  
B. 40. c. 5.  
et 57.

pect the Romans had of a war with the Macedonian; for Marcius reported to the senate, that, though Philip had done all they had enjoined him, yet it was evident, from his manner of complying, that his obedience would last no longer than necessity forced him to it. Nor indeed was the ambassador in this mistaken; for as Philip could not but see that the intention of the Romans was to possess themselves of his kingdom, by means seemingly consistent with their honour, if they could so contrive it; if not, by any means whatever, he turned all his thoughts to put himself in a condition to assert his independence. This was not easy to be effected. In the former war he had lost much both of strength and reputation: his subjects could not bear to hear of a new war with Rome: and there was neither king nor state in his neighbourhood that would venture to espouse his cause against the Romans. He formed a scheme therefore to allure the Bastarnæ, (a robust and hardy people dwelling beyond the Danube) to leave their country and settle in Dardania; promising them, together with great rewards, his assistance to extirpate the natives; who (lying on the borders of Macedon) had taken every opportunity to give him disturbance. And he was to purchase of some Thracian princes a passage through their country for these Barbarian strangers. It is said, that besides the strengthening of Macedon he had a further view in calling the Bastarnæ to his assistance. He thought they might be



usefully employed even to invade Italy, marching through Illyricum and the countries upon the Adriatic. Some years passed before this project took any effect. In the meantime he applied himself very diligently to train his people to war, exercising them in some small expeditions against the wild nations on the confines of his dominions.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his kingdom and in his own house. The multitude of people, which he had transplanted, much against their wills, into Emathia\*, being extremely discontented with the change, uttered bitter execrations against him: and he became the detestation of all his subjects in general, when, the more effectually to secure himself against domestic enemies, he barbarously caused to be massacred the children of all those whom he had at any time tyrannically put to death. Polybius ascribes what afterwards happened to Philip, in his own family, to an especial vengeance of Heaven poured on him for these cruelties.

It is hard to say what the Romans intended

The most probable conjecture seems to be, that the conscript fathers, well acquainted with Demetrius, and knowing him to be a fool, thought him the fitter to be king of a country, which they intended to make their own. For, that he was a very weak youth seems evident from hence, that, while the king, suspecting him of a warmer heart to the Romans than to him, put an ill construction upon many of his actions, which perhaps were innocent, (and particularly that assiduous court he paid to every ambassador from the senate) the prince took no

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One hundred eighty-one.

270th Consulship.

Polyb. Ex-  
cerpt. ap.  
Vales.  
Livy, B. 40.  
c. 3.

\*See p. 303.

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R O M E  
DLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
one.

270th Con-  
sulship.  
Polyb. Le-  
gat. 50.  
Livy, B. 39.  
c. 53.

by the extraordinary favour they showed to Demetrius, the king's younger son. But certain it is, that their favour to him, and his mutual respect for them, made the father extremely jealous of him; a jealousy that was increased by the partial regard the people in general had for Demetrius, to whom they thought themselves indebted for the continuance of the peace with Rome; and who, they hoped and believed would, by means of the Romans, succeed Philip in the throne; and this their partiality to the younger son was yet more strongly resented by the elder than by the father. Perses<sup>2</sup> not only conceived an implacable hatred to his brother, but formed a steady resolution to compass his destruction. In this view he accused Deme-

pains to destroy this impression in his father's mind; but, on the contrary, was always admiring and commending whatever was Roman; carrying this folly so far, as to lose all patience, if any body happened to say, that Rome (the worst built city in the world) was ill contrived.

<sup>2</sup> Perses is said by some writers to have been Philip's son by a concubine; in which respect Demetrius had the advantage of him, being indisputably legitimate. But perhaps this is only a Roman tale.

<sup>3</sup> The occasion of it was this. There had been, the day before, a general muster and review of the army. It was customary for the troops, after they had been reviewed, to divide themselves into two bodies, and come to a mock fight, in which the combatants made use of poles, instead of the usual weapons. In the last fight between the two divisions of the army, each being heated by more than ordinary eagerness for victory, as if they had been contending for the kingdom, some hurt was done. Perses's side at length recoiled. This vexed him, but his friends thought that a good use might be made of it. It might afford matter of complaint against Demetrius, as if the



trius of an attempt to assassinate him; and even pretended to know, that he had undertaken this murder in the confidence that he should be supported by the Romans. We are told, there was no solid proof of the charge. The king, however, having called some of his council to be his assessors, sat in judgment to try the cause. Livy has given us at large the pleadings of the two princes, or rather what they might have said, if they had possessed his talents. When Philip had heard both his sons, he told them, "That he would not judge between them upon an hour's hearing of their altercations, but upon a future observation of their life and manners, their words and actions."

The king naturally inclined to his elder son, heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of the sport. Each of the brothers was that day to give an entertainment to his own companions, and each of them had spies in the other's house to observe what passed. One of Perses's intelligencers behaved himself so uncautiously that he was discovered, and well beaten by four of Demetrius's guests. Demetrius knew nothing of this. When grown warm and merry with wine, "Why should not we go to my brother's," said he, "and join company with him? and if he is angry with us for what happened to-day, we will put him into good humour again." All approved the motion, except the four who had so roughly treated Perses's spy. Yet Demetrius would not suffer them to stay behind. These, to secure themselves from being insulted, carried swords hid under their clothes: a precaution however not so secretly taken, but that Perses had notice of it; who thereupon caused his doors to be shut; and when Demetrius with his drunken companions arrived, spoke to them from a window, in reproachful words, accusing them of murderous intentions. *Livy, B. 40. c. 6. et seq.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty-one.

270th Consulship.

Livy, B. 40.  
c. 8. et seq.



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R O M E  
DLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty-  
one.

270th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty.

271st Con-  
sulship.  
Liv. B. 40.  
c. 20.

23.

and was confirmed in that inclination by his hatred to the Romans; yet he had not so high an opinion of Perses's veracity, as not to doubt concerning what he had alleged against his brother. His doubts made him wretched; and he dreaded to have them removed; because he could reap nothing but sorrow from a discovery of the truth. Nevertheless such discovery was expedient, in order to the regulation of his conduct in disposing of his kingdom. Full of anxiety, he [in the consulship of P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Bæbius Tamphilus] sent Philocles and Apelles to Rome, with the character of ambassadors to the senate; but whose chief business was to learn, if possible, what had passed in private between Demetrius and any of the great men there, especially T. Flaminius; who not long before had, in a letter to the king, commended his prudence in sending his younger son on the late embassy to Rome; and had counselled him to send him thither again with a greater and more honourable retinue of Macedonian nobles. These two ambassadors, whom Philip thought unbiassed to either of the brothers, but who were indeed wholly devoted to Perses, returned, and brought to the king a letter, pretended to be written to him by Flaminius, whose seal they had counterfeited. In this letter, the writer, in behalf of Demetrius, whom he owned to be faulty, deprecated the king's anger; and pressed him to believe, that whatever unwarrantable enterprises the young prince, through ambition of a throne,

might have formed, yet certainly he had projected nothing against the life of any one of his own blood. He added, that as for himself, he was not a man that could be thought the adviser of any impious undertaking whatsoever.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred eighty.  
271st Consulship.

Philip had some months before discovered, by means of one Didos, governor of Pæonia, who had worked himself into Demetrius's confidence, that the young prince intended to escape to Rome, imagining he could nowhere else be in shelter from the suspicions of his father and the malice of his brother. The pretended letter from Flamininus, added to this discovery, determined the king to put his son to death. Yet lest to do it avowedly and openly should give the alarm to the Romans, and raise a suspicion of his having hostile intentions against the republic, he judged it best to have the criminal taken off silently, and by fraud. To Didos was committed the execution. A cup of poison, which he insidiously gave the prince, in the expectation that it would despatch him speedily and quietly, not taking the desired effect, but causing in him such torment, as revealed the treachery, and made him loudly complain both of his father and Didos, this traitor sent into his chamber a couple of ruffians, who, by smothering him, finished the tragedy.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Transactions of the Romans, from the year 572 to 578.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred eighty.

271st Con-  
sulship.  
• See p. 293.

Macrob.  
Saturnal. 1.  
2. c. 13.

FROM the year 564, when the consul Manlius vanquished and plundered the Galatians\*, to the year 582, in which began the second Macedonian war, little was performed by the Romans in the way of arms, except the conquest of Istria. Indeed the wars against the Ligurians and Spaniards continued almost without any interruption; but in these there happened nothing very memorable.

At Rome, in the present year 572<sup>1</sup>, one Orchius, a tribune of the people, got a sumptuary law passed, limiting the number of guests which any man should be allowed to have at his table.

Y. R. 573. The next year, A. Posthumius Albinus and C. Calpurnius Piso being consuls, was enacted the famous Villian law, regulating the ages requisite for bearing the several magistracies. What these ages were is not agreed among the learned. Yet from Cicero (Phil. 5.) it would seem that the age for quæstor was 31, curule ædile 37, prætor 40, consul 43.

Y. R. 574. The year following was remarkable for having two brothers at the same time in the con-

<sup>1</sup> In this year the books which king Numa had ordered to be buried with him, and of which mention has been made in vol. i. were accidentally found, and ordered to be burned by the senate, as containing doctrines pernicious to religion.



sulship, Q. Fulvius Flaccus and L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus, the latter so called, because adopted into the Manlian family.

A. Manlius Vulso, (who had for his colleague M. Junius Brutus) led an army into Istria; the conquest of which country was completed by the consul C. Claudius Pulcher, whose colleague Tib. Sempronius Gracchus suppressed a rebellion in Sardinia. Y. R. 575.

To these succeeded Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus and Q. Petillius Spurius. Y. R. 577.

While the senate were in debate concerning the troops to be raised for the service of the year, Cornelius, who had been suddenly called out of the assembly by a *viator*\*, returned, after some time, with a countenance full of trouble and consternation. The conscript fathers suspending their deliberations, became all anxiety and attention. Cornelius then informed them, "that the liver of an ox (six years old) which he had sacrificed, was all melted away in the boiler; that when the thing was first told him, he could not believe it; that he caused the water to be poured out of the pot, and then saw the rest of the entrails entire; but, for the liver, it was all vanished, no mortal could tell how." Liv. B. 41. c. 15.

The fathers, terrified by this prodigy, were yet more terrified when the other consul let them know, that of four oxen which he had successively sacrificed to Jupiter, not one had proved such as could please him. Both the consuls received strict orders to continue sacri-

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-five.

276th Con-  
sulship.

\* Salus.

† Death.

ficing oxen, till the omens were good. It is reported (says Livy) that all the deities were propitiated, except the goddess Health, or Safety\*; but that Petillius had no luck in sacrificing to her. What followed? Cornelius coming down the hill of Alba, was seized with an apoplectic fit, lost the use of some of his limbs, and soon after died at Cubæ, whither he had been conveyed for the benefit of the waters. Petillius conducted the war in Liguria: the enemy being lodged upon a mountain called Letum†, the consul, in an harangue to his soldiers, told them, *se eo die Letum capturum esse*, “that he should that day take Letum” (the enemy’s post;) not attending, says Livy, to the ambiguity of the words, which also import, “that he should that day catch his death:” and accordingly he was that day killed in a conflict with the enemy. The Latin historian adds, that upon so remarkable a fulfilling of the melancholy omen, the keeper of the sacred chickens was heard to say, that something had gone wrong even with them, at the taking the auspices before the battle, and that the consul knew it well enough.

In the place of Cornelius, C. Valerius Lævinus had been chosen, Petillius holding the *comitia*; but the ablest divines and lawyers were of opinion, that since the ordinary consuls of that year had both perished, one by sickness, the other by the sword, the extraordinary, or substituted consul, could not hold the *comitia* for a new election of magistrates.



## CHAP. XIV.

*Perses, after the death of his father Philip, succeeds him in the throne.—He renews the treaty with Rome, and endeavours to gain the good-will of the Greeks.—The Romans are jealous of his growing power.*

IN the consulship of P. Mucius Scævola and M. Æmilius Lepidus, certain ambassadors, who had been sent by the conscript fathers into Macedon [to seek a pretence for invading and conquering that country] returned to Rome. Their report, which was very short, will be mentioned when the reader has first had an account of some changes in the state of Macedon, since it was last spoken of.

King Philip was dead. He had lived but two years after the murder of his son Demetrius, and had passed those years in the extremest melancholy and wretchedness of mind. For Perses, having got rid of his rival brother, paid no longer any respect to his father, but let himself be courted and worshipped by the people, as if he were already on the throne. The old king was in a manner left desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. Thus neglected and deserted, his thoughts ran frequently back to his son Demetrius, of whom he began now to regret the loss, not without some suspicion of foul play on the part of Perses in relation to his brother. One man there was of his court, and but one, his cousin-german Antigo-

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred seventy-four.

277th Consulship.

Livy, B. 40.  
c. 54. et  
seq.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred seven-  
ty four.

277th Con-  
sulship.

nus (the son of his uncle Echecrates) that continued faithful to him. Antigonus, by his fidelity to Philip, had drawn upon himself the hatred of Perses; and well foresaw, how dangerous that hatred would be to him, if ever the prince should ascend the throne. He no sooner therefore observed the softening of the king's mind at the remembrance of Demetrius, and how apt he was to the belief, that unfair practices had been used to compass that prince's destruction, but he applied himself diligently to listen to what people said upon that subject, and industriously to bring the matter into discourse, often joining with those who complained of the rashness of the king's act. He found that Philocles and Apelles, the ambassadors who had brought the pretended letter from Flamininus, lay under the suspicion of fraud; and that it was commonly whispered in the palace, that Xychus, their secretary, had counterfeited the hand-writing and the seal of the Roman. Antigonus accidentally meeting this Xychus, laid hold of him, and brought him into the palace. There leaving him in custody with some officers, he went to the king, and acquainted him, that he had found the man who could best satisfy him whether his son Demetrius had died justly, or by treachery. Xychus being examined in Philip's presence, and threatened with torture, after some little hesitation confessed the whole matter. Philocles was instantly seized. Some say, that being confronted with Xychus, he owned the fact; others, that he bore the torture without confessing any thing. Apelles,

then absent from court upon some commission, having notice of Xychus's being arrested, made his escape, and fled into Italy<sup>2</sup>. As for Perses, he was grown too powerful to be under any necessity of flying his country; he only took care to keep at a distance from his father; who despairing of ever being able to bring him to corporal punishment, bent his thoughts to hinder

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred seven-  
ty-four.

277th Con-  
sulship.

<sup>2</sup> May not this circumstance, joined with some others in the story, justify a doubt, whether this pretended discovery of truth was not itself a fraud, contrived by Antigonus, who hoped by the success of it to gain the kingdom? Was Italy a country where Apelles, if guilty of forging a letter from Flamininus to the destruction of Demetrius, (a prince so much in favour with the senate) could hope to find an asylum? Yet, though Philip demanded him, the Romans did not deliver him up, as appears from Livy, (B. 42. c. 5.) who also tells us, that Philocles, by some historians, is said to have denied the crime to the last, though confronted with Xychus, and put to the torture. Why may not the letter in question have been genuine? Livy, who makes it a point to justify Demetrius, and load Perses, (doubtless because a victim destined by the Romans to destruction) allows, not only that Demetrius was vain and insolent, on account of the extraordinary regard the senate expressed for him, but that several months before Apelles and Philocles brought the letter from Italy, he had formed the design of withdrawing from his father's obedience, and escaping to his friends at Rome. Might not Flamininus, knowing this, and perhaps some other unjustifiable practices of Demetrius, which had brought him under his father's displeasure, write a letter to the king, to deprecate his anger, and dissuade him from any measures too severe against the prince: in which deprecation he might hope to succeed the more easily, by assuring Philip, that whatever wicked schemes of ambition the young man had formed, they could not take place, since they would have no countenance from Rome?

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-four.

277th Con-  
sulship.

his succession to the throne, and secure it to Antigonus. And this, had he lived a little longer than he did, he would doubtless have effected. But in making a progress through his kingdom, for this very purpose, he fell sick at Amphipolis, and died; [year of Rome 574.] His physician Caligenes concealed his death till Perses arrived; to whom he had given notice of the king's condition, upon the first indication of the distemper's being mortal. Antigonus was not at Amphipolis: he had been sent, much against his will, as ambassador from Philip to quicken the march of the Bastarnæ, and was coming with Cotto, one of their leaders, to let the king know, that they had passed the Danube, and were advancing; a prodigious multitude, with their wives and children. Not far from Amphipolis he heard a rumour of Philip's death, and was soon after arrested and slain by the order of Perses, who had taken possession of the kingdom.

The more firmly to establish himself, Perses sent ambassadors to Rome to get his title to the crown recognised by the senate, and to renew the league that had been made between his father and the republic; both which requests he obtained. Nor did he neglect any thing which he thought might help to conciliate to him the good-will of the Greeks, and his other neighbours. To ingratiate himself with his subjects, he recalled by edicts, (published in the island of Delos, at Delphi, and in the temple of Itonia Minerva) all the Macedonians who had fled

Polyb. Ex-  
cerpt. ex  
Lib. 20.  
ap. Valcs.



their country for debt, or had been banished thence by the judges; promising them, not only impunity, but restitution of their estates, with the profits of them during their absence. He remitted also all debts due to his exchequer, and released all persons that were in custody either for treason, or the suspicion of it. By such actions of generosity and clemency, he made the Greeks universally conceive the highest hopes of him. Add to this, that in his person and in all his deportment, there was a royal dignity; and having carefully shunned the vices of incontinence and intemperance, to which his father had been addicted, he had a strength of body, that would enable him to sustain the hardships of war, as well as the fatigues of civil government. Such, says Polybius, was Perses in the beginning of his reign. The Bastarnæ (as mentioned above) were upon their march to the country of Dardania, when Philip, who had invited them thither, died. This event embarrassed them: for the Thracians, with whom Philip had settled the price of their passage, now disputed it. A battle ensued, in which the Thracians had the worst. Nevertheless we find that the whole multitude of the Bastarnæ, except 30,000, returned home, because (if we may believe Livy and P. Orosius) it was miraculously bad weather. The 30,000 came on, and entered Dardania; where we find them three years after. For the Dardans then sent ambassadors to Rome, to ask help against those invaders; adding, that

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred seven-  
ty-four.

277th Con-  
sulship.

Polyb. Le-  
gat. 62.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-four.

277th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 41.  
c. 19.

they were yet less afraid of the Bastarnæ than of Perses, who was in league with them. This furnished the Romans with a pretext to visit the king with ambassadors, who should pry into his conduct and designs.

When these ministers returned, the whole of their report amounted only to this ; “ that there was war in Dardania.” Perses, apprehending some design against him, had appointed ambassadors to accompany the Romans in their journey home, and to assure the conscript fathers, that he had not sent for the Bastarnæ, and that they did not act by his advice. The senate answered, “ That they neither accused the king, nor acquitted him of that fault ; that they only admonished him to be very careful religiously to observe the treaty between the republic and him.”

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-three.

278th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 41.  
c. 22.

The following year, when the consular fasces had been transferred to Sp. Posthumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Scævola, some Roman ambassadors, who had passed into Africa, (it does not appear under what pretence of business) reported, at their return home, “ That having gone first to Masinissa, they had received much better accounts from him of what had been doing at Carthage, than they afterwards got from the Carthaginians themselves ; that unquestionably ambassadors had been there from Perses, and admitted to audience by night in the temple of Æsculapius ; and that Masinissa affirmed, what the Carthaginians themselves could not confidently deny, that they had sent

ambassadors into Macedon." Hereupon the fathers resolved, that they too would send ambassadors into Macedon; and accordingly three were ordered thither.

About this time the Dolopians, subjects of Perses, refusing (for what reason is unknown) to submit to his authority, and appealing from their king to the Romans, he marched with an army, and by force speedily reduced them to obedience. The Romans (as we shall see hereafter) would needs make this an act of presumption in the king, and resent it as if he had invaded some country of their Italian allies.

Perses, after this expedition, made another, under the pretence of religion. He crossed Mount Oeta, and visited the temple of Apollo at Delphi. His army being with him, the Greeks were at first much terrified at his sudden appearance among them: but he staid only three days at Delphi, and then, through Phthiotis and Thessaly, returned into his own country, not having done the least act of hostility in any place through which he had passed. With the cities in his way he had amicably treated in person; and to those at a distance he had sent ambassadors or letters, desiring that the memory of all misunderstandings between his father and them might be buried with his father, since his own inclination was to live in amity with all his neighbours. The Romans would have been better pleased if the Macedonian had done some violences in his progress. Nor did they fail, for want of such cause of

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One hundred  
three.

278th Con-  
sulship.



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One hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-three.

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sulship.

quarrel, to make it a crime that he had acted the contrary part, and, by a friendly behaviour, courted the good-will of the Greek states.

The king was more especially solicitous to recover the friendship of the Achæans, which his father had so far lost, that by a solemn decree they had forbid any Macedonian to enter their territories. Whatever reasons of policy the Achæans might have for the continuance of this decree during the war of Philip with the Romans, it seemed inhuman afterwards, and a nourishing of deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. It was besides very prejudicial to them; their slaves daily running away, and taking refuge in Macedon, whence they knew they should not be reclaimed; for though there was no decree forbidding the Achæans to enter that kingdom, yet the masters of the slaves could not possibly think it safe for them to go thither. Perses took advantage of this circumstance: he apprehended all the runaways, and, by a letter to the Achæan diet, made a friendly offer to restore the fugitives: exhorting, at the same time, the magistrates to think of some effectual means to prevent the like escape for the future. Xenarchus, the prætor, read to the diet this letter; which the greater part heard with much pleasure, and especially those who were going, contrary to all expectation, to recover their slaves. But Callicrates, a partisan of the Romans, and who, to raise himself by their favour, had cast off all regard for his country, advised the assembly to

Polyb. Legat. 58. et Excerpt. ex L. 28.  
Livy, B. 41. c. 23.

be well aware of what they did ; affirming, that the manifest aim of the king's civility was to make them break friendship with Rome, a friendship on which their all depended. " For I suppose," said he, " you have no doubt but there will be a war between the Romans and Perses. You know that Philip was making preparations for a rupture. He slew his son for no other reason but his affection to Rome. And what was the first thing that Perses did after his coming to the throne ? He brought the Bastarnæ into Dardania. It is true, they are gone away again. Had they staid, they would have been worse neighbours to the Greeks than the Gauls are to the Asiatics. But did their departure make Perses give over all thoughts of the war ? No, if the truth may be spoken, he has already begun it ; witness his expedition against the Dolopians. And as for that extraordinary journey to Delphi, and his wonderfully kind behaviour to the Thessalians, whom he hates ; What do you think of all this ? Was it any thing more than an artifice to draw men over to his party ? Every body understands the meaning of his compliment to us. My advice is, that we let things continue as they are, till we see whether the peace between Rome and Macedon will remain inviolate."

|| To this, Archo, the prætor's brother : " Callicrates, I see, has a mind to make it difficult for those who disagree with him in opinion, to answer him. Why else does he bring the Romans into the question ? I observe, that he is surprisingly well instructed in the councils of

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One hundred  
seven-  
ty-three.

278th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 41.  
c. 24.

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R O M E  
DLXXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-three.

27th Con-  
sulship.

foreign courts. He knows every thing. He gives us an account of the most secret transactions; he even divines what would have happened if Philip had lived: he knows how it comes to pass that Perses inherits the kingdom; what the Macedonians are meditating; and what the Romans think: and upon all this knowledge he forms his opinion. But now, as for us, who neither know why or how Demetrius died, nor what Philip if he had lived would have done; we ought, I think, to govern ourselves only by what we do know. And this we know: that Perses upon his accession to the throne was acknowledged king by the Romans; that they renewed their league with him; and that they afterwards sent to him ambassadors who were kindly received. To me these things seem tokens of peace, and not of war: nor do I see how the Romans can be offended, if, as we followed their steps in making war, we follow them likewise in making peace. Why the Achæans alone are to carry on an inexpiable war against the Macedonians, I do not comprehend. Our neighbours are in commerce with Perses; and nothing more is proposed for the Achæans: no league, no alliance, nothing but such a correspondence as common humanity requires; nothing therefore that can justly offend the Romans. Why then all this stir? Why do we distinguish ourselves from our neighbours? Is it to make them suspected and hated, by our flattering the Romans more than they? Should there be a war, Perses himself does not doubt but we shall side with Rome.



In a time of peace, enmity, if not wholly laid aside, should at least be suspended." Those who had been pleased with the king's letter, greatly applauded this discourse : yet the Roman faction found a pretence to get the debate adjourned. They alleged, that Perses, having sent only a letter, and not an ambassador, had failed in the ceremonial. It surely was not natural, considering upon what terms the two states had been for some time, that he should send a minister, before it could be known that a minister would be received ; yet since this was made an objection, Perses, to remove it, despatched an ambassador to them in form. But now, the dread of Rome prevailing in the council, he was refused audience ; and for this the Achæans were soon after highly commended by the Romans ; who thereby discovered their hatred to Perses, though hitherto he had given them no provocation<sup>3</sup>.

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One hundred  
seventy-three.

278th Consulship.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 46.

3 This year a son of Scipio Africanus stood candidate for the prætorship, and would have lost his election, if the competitor Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary, had not, out of respect for the family, desisted from his pretension, and even used his interest for Scipio. After he was chosen, and that it fell to his lot to be prætor peregrinus, his relations persuaded him to renounce the exercise of that office, as utterly unfit for it : nor did he sit to pronounce one decree. They also prevailed with him to lay aside a ring he wore, whereon was the head of his father, whom he disgraced by his incapacity ; and the censors this year struck his name out of the list of the senators. Nevertheless Cicero speaks of this Scipio as of a man of parts, though of an infirm habit of body. *Cic. de Senect. c. 11. et Brut. c. 19.*

Val. Max.  
B. 3. c. 3.  
et B. 4.  
c. 5.

The streets of Rome, by order of the censors, were this year paved for the first time. *Livy, B. 41. c. 27.*

## CHAP. XV.

*The report of some Roman ambassadors who had been sent to Perses.—The senate order a new embassy to him.—The cruelty of the consul Popillius towards a petty nation of Liguria.—Eumenes comes to Rome to accuse Perses of designs against the republic.—The ambassadors from Perses are ill received by the senate.—He employs assassins to murder Eumenes; and is accused of designing other murders by poison.—The Carthaginians send to Rome complaints of Masinissa's usurpations.—Some Roman ambassadors report the ill reception they had met with from Perses.*

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DLXXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred seven-  
ty-two.

279th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 2.

c. 6.

c. 7.

THE three ambassadors, sent into Macedon, returned to Rome (in the beginning of the consulship of L. Posthumius Albinus and M. Popillius Lænas) complaining, “that they had not been able to obtain an audience of the king; it having been sometimes pretended, that he was absent, sometimes that he was sick, and both falsely:” they added, “that he was undoubtedly preparing for war, and would soon take the field.” The senate, not long after this report, resolved to trouble Perses with five more ambassadors; at the head of whom was C. Valerius: and these were from Macedon to go to Alexandria, to renew a league of friendship with Ptolemy.

POPILLIUS the consul, without orders from the senate, and without any provocation, led an army against the Statelliates, a people of Liguria, and came to a battle with them before the gates of their town called Carystum. He

slew 10,000 of the enemy, and took 700 prisoners, with the loss of 3000 of his men. The vanquished, having collected their scattered troops, found that the number of the citizens lost was greater than of those which remained. They surrendered, therefore, without making any conditions; never imagining that the consul would treat them worse than former generals had treated their prisoners. Yet Popilius not only plundered the town, but demolished it, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. Of this proceeding he sent an account to the conscript fathers; who, being highly offended with it, decreed, that returning the money to the purchasers, he should restore to the captives their liberty and effects; and then quit the province. Popilius would not obey; but, having put his army into winter quarters at Pisa, came home in as great wrath, says Livy, with the fathers, as he had expressed against the Ligurians.

When the fasces had been transferred to P. Ælius Ligus and C. Popilius Lænas (both plebeians) Ælius, at the instigation of the senate, would have revived the affair of the injury done to the Ligurians; but was turned aside from his purpose by his colleague, the delinquent's brother, who threatened to oppose him, and to render null whatever he should do in that process. The senate hereupon became so angry with

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seventy-two.

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One hundred  
seventy-one.

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We find that justice was afterwards done to the Stathiates; but that Popilius, though prosecuted, escaped punishment, by the artifice of the prætor who was to try him. *Livy, B. 42. c. 22.*



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One hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-one.

280th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 5.  
Polybius  
Legat. 74.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 11.

both, that, though the war against Macedon was just on the point of being declared, they absolutely refused them the conduct of it, nor would even grant them a decree to levy soldiers for the war in Liguria.

About this time Eumenes, king of Pergamus, came to Rome. Besides his hereditary quarrel with the Macedonian, he had a particular hatred to him, on account of the great progress he made in the esteem and affection of the Greeks; while his own reputation among them was every day decreasing: in proof of which, the Achæans had lately abrogated, as extravagant and illegal, certain honours that had been decreed him in their country. Eumenes had doubtless learned the intentions of the Romans with regard to Perses, and would therefore not be backward in making his court to the senate upon such an occasion; hoping perhaps to be rewarded with some part of the Macedonian kingdom, as he had, for his service against Antiochus, obtained a good share of that prince's dominions. The senate received the king with great honours: and though he had little to say which they knew not before, yet they listened to him with the utmost attention, pondering all his words, as if the weight of them were to turn the balance that before was equal. He introduced his discourse with saying, "That the cause of his journey to Rome was (besides the desire of visiting those gods and men, by whose favour he enjoyed that fortune which had left him nothing to wish for) that he might

in person warn the senate to prevent the designs of the Macedonian." He then spoke of the murder of Demetrius, a prince always averse from a Roman war; Philip's invitation of the Bastarnæ, by whose help he was to have invaded Italy; the expedition of Perses against the Dolopians; the esteem which the Greek and Asiatic cities had for him. "I do not see," said Eumenes, "for what merit, what munificence of his, so much respect is paid him; nor can I certainly tell, whether this be owing to the good fortune of Perses, or (which I am loth to say) to a hatred of the Romans. He is in great authority even with the Asiatic kings. Seleucus, the son and successor of Antiochus the Great, has given him his daughter Laodice in marriage: yet Perses did not ask her; Seleucus offered her. Prusias, king of Bithynia, has by earnest entreaties obtained, for a wife, the sister of Perses; and these marriages have been solemnized with congratulations and presents from numberless ambassadors. The Bœotians, who never could be brought to make a league with Philip, have made one with his son. The Achæan council, if a few friends of Rome had not opposed it, would have let him into Achaia. At the same time, they were putting affronts upon me, to whom they are more obliged than can be well expressed. And who does not know, that the Ætolians, in their domestic feuds and seditions, had recourse for assistance, not to the Romans, but to Perses? And without the support of these associations and friend-

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ty-one.

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sulship.

ships abroad, he has strength enough at home for the war ; 30,000 foot, 5000 horse, corn for ten years, that he may not be driven to live by spoil, or take from his own subjects : money enough (not to speak of his mines) to pay 10,000 mercenaries for ten years ; arms sufficient for three such armies as he has now on foot<sup>2</sup> ; the Thracians near at hand to supply him with as many recruits as he shall require.”

The king added, “ I have not taken up these things, conscript fathers, upon uncertain reports, nor given an easy credit to them, as wishing them to be true of an enemy : but I bring you accounts of what, by a thorough inquiry, I have discovered as certainly, as if you had employed me to be your spy, and I had seen them with my own eyes.”

Eumenes proceeded to accuse Perses of some facts which might either be denied or justified ; as that he had procured the death of certain persons, friends to the Romans ; dethroned Abrupolis, a petty king of Illyricum, who had invaded Macedon ; given assistance to the Byzantines, contrary to the treaty with Rome ; made war upon the Dolopians ; and led an army through Thessaly and Doris.

He concluded thus : “ Since you, conscript fathers, have quietly and patiently borne these things, and the Macedonian sees that you have abandoned Greece to him, he is very sure, that he shall meet with no enemy to oppose him ;

<sup>2</sup> This army and these stores were left to Perses by his father.



before he passes into Italy. How safe or how honourable for you this may be, you are the best judges. As for me, I should have been ashamed, if Perses had got the start of me, and had brought the war hither, before I had come to give you notice of the danger<sup>3</sup>.”

It would be very foolish to imagine that the senate stood in fear of Perses's invading Italy. Nevertheless, as they always sought plausible pretences for their wars; and as they could find none at present, they took advantage of this visit from Eumenes to make it believed, that he had given them some intelligence of the greatest importance to their preservation; and such as would justify their attacking Macedon. To induce this belief, it was necessary to make a profound secret of all that the king had said; because it amounted to no more than what every body knew from the report of the Roman ambassadors. And had the fathers, upon such report, or tales invented by flatterers and spies, commenced a war against Perses, the injustice and oppression would have been manifest to all the world. But when the danger threatening them was so terrible, that such a prince as Eumenes came out of his own kingdom, as far as from Asia, to bid them look to

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sulship.

Sir W. R.

<sup>3</sup> Though Livy (B. 42. c. 5.) says very fine things of Eumenes, (in comparing him with Perses) and tells us, that the cities under his domination were so happy that they would not change condition with any free cities; yet one cannot help thinking that, by this speech, which he has put into the king's mouth, he intended to show him in a ridiculous light.

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Livy, B. 42.  
c. 14.

themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest measures for their own security? This imminent danger their affected secresy would help to magnify in the imagination of the public. Not a word therefore of what the king had said transpired. It was only known, for the present, that he had been in the senate-house. The rest, says Livy, did not come out till the war was over.

After a few days, the senate gave audience to Perses's ambassadors; but, being predetermined, would neither admit their defence, nor have regard to their deprecation. Whereupon Harpalus, chief of the embassy, said, "The king earnestly wishes, that you would believe him, when he declares, that neither by words nor actions has he given you any cause to look upon him as your enemy: but if he finds that you are seeking a pretence of quarrel with him, he will not want courage to defend himself. The chance of war is equal, and the event uncertain."

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious to know what Eumenes's journey to Rome and the Macedonian embassy would produce, had sent deputies thither under various pretexts. The Rhodians, in particular, did not doubt but the king of Pergamus would give them a share in whatever crimes he should think proper to charge upon Perses. Satyrus, chief of the embassy from Rhodes, used therefore all his interest with the senators of his acquaintance to get an opportunity of being heard against Eu-

menes: which when he had obtained, he, with great acrimony, accused him not only of having stirred up the Lycians, their subjects, to a revolt, but of being more oppressive to Asia than ever Antiochus had been. Such discourse, though agreeable to the Asiatic cities, (for they also favoured Perses) was displeasing to the senate, and of no benefit to the Rhodians. The fathers favoured Eumenes the more for the combination formed against him: they loaded him with honours and presents.

Harpalus, returning into Macedon with all possible diligence, told his master, that he had left the Romans, not indeed making preparations for war, but so ill disposed, that unquestionably they would not defer it long. The king, fully convinced that he should soon be attacked, laid a plot to begin the war, with spilling the blood of Eumenes, the man whom of all men he most hated. It was known that the Pergamenian, in returning home, would take Delphi in his way, intending a sacrifice to Apollo. Perses, for the assassination, employed a certain Cretan, named Evander, (general of his auxiliaries) and three Macedonians, (men of experience in such enterprises) who placing themselves behind a ruined wall, that hung over a hollow way, so narrow, that only one could pass at a time, there waited the coming of the king and his retinue. Pantaleon, an Ætolian chief, walked foremost; Eumenes followed: just as he came under the wall, the ruffians rolled down two stones of a

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huge size, one of which lighting on his head, the other on his shoulder, he was struck to the ground; where a shower of smaller stones came pouring upon him, and overwhelmed him. The assassins, imagining their business effected, made all haste to get away; and one of them, not being able to keep pace with the rest, his companions slew him, to prevent a discovery.

Upon seeing the king fall, his attendants, except Pantaleon, had all fled away in a fright. Running now together again, they took him up senseless; still warm, however, and breathing. After a short time he came to himself; and the next day they put him on board his ship, which conveyed him first to Corinth, and thence to the island of Ægina. Here he was cured, but, during his recovery, was kept so secretly, that fame, throughout all Asia, confidently reported him dead. Attalus believed it sooner than became the brotherly affection that had always remarkably subsisted between them; for (as Livy adds) thinking himself now the undoubted inheritor of the kingdom, he discoursed with his brother's wife and the governor of the citadel of Pergamus. Of this Eumenes had private information, yet, when he returned safe home, all the reproof which Attalus received from him, at their meeting, was a whisper, to forbear marrying the queen till he were well assured of the king's death.

Plut. in  
Apophth.  
Livy, B. 42.  
c. 17.

While the rumour of the Pergamenian's being assassinated was yet fresh at Rome, Valerius, head of the last embassy into Macedon and

Greece, returned home, and brought with him Praxo, a woman of great distinction at Delphi, to whom Perses had, by letter, recommended the assassins, to be by her entertained. He produced also one Rammius, a citizen of Brundisium, at whose house all the generals and Roman ambassadors, as well as the king's ministers, used to lodge, in their journeys to and from Italy. This man declared, that being lately at the Macedonian court, he had been there tampered with to poison such of his guests as the king should occasionally name to him.

These stories, true or false, obtained easy belief at Rome: they served to swell the account of Perses's crimes, and make appear more fully the justice and necessity of a Macedonian war. The senate being dissatisfied, for the reasons formerly mentioned, with the present consuls, commissioned Sicinnius, the prætor Peregrinus, to pass with an army into Epirus, and there continue till a successor should arrive.

ABOUT this time came ambassadors from the Carthaginians with a new complaint against Masinissa. He had been encroaching upon them ever since their defeat at Zama. How he took from them the country of Emporia has been already mentioned\*. This usurpation was followed by another. Gala, the father of Masinissa, had conquered some lands from the Carthaginians, which afterwards Syphax conquered from Gala, and restored to the first

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Livy, B. 42.  
c. 23.

\* See p.  
239.  
Livy, B. 40.  
c. 17.

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dred seven-  
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Livy, B. 42.  
c. 23.

owners, out of love to his wife Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal. Upon these lands the Numidian seized; and, by Roman arbitration, was permitted quietly to possess them: an injury which the Carthaginians had scarcely digested, when Masinissa came upon them again, and took from them above seventy towns and castles without any colour of right. It was of this that the present ambassadors complained. They represented the grievous oppression which Carthage laboured under by reason of those articles in her treaty with the Romans, which restrained her from making war, out of her own territory, or against any confederate of Rome. "Now (said they) although the towns and castles lately seized by Masinissa are unquestionably within our territory, and therefore the driving him thence would be only a defensive war; yet as he is a confederate of Rome, we fear even to defend ourselves against him without your permission. We beg therefore, that Carthage may either have justice by arbitration, or be suffered to defend herself by force of arms; or at least (if favour must prevail over truth) that you would be pleased to determine once for all, what part of her dominions she shall give up to Masinissa. If none of these requests can be obtained, we then desire, that you will let us know in what we have offended, since the time that Scipio granted us peace, and vouchsafe to punish us yourselves in such manner as you shall think proper. It would be better for the Carthaginians, and more



agreeable to them, to live slaves to the Romans in safety, than to be free, but continually exposed to the oppressions of Masinissa: we had rather perish at once than draw our breath at the mercy of that Numidian hangman." This said, the ambassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground.

Gulussa, the son of Masinissa, being present, the senate asked him what answer he could make to these complaints. He said, "That his father had given him no instructions relating thereto; that neither could he well have given any, the Carthaginians not having imparted to him the subject of their embassy, nor even their intention of sending an embassy to Rome. It was indeed known, that they had of late held secret councils by night, in the temple of Æsculapius, and dispatched ambassadors to the senate; for which reason his father had sent him to entreat them not to give credit to the accusations of their common enemy, who hated Masinissa for no other reason but his constant fidelity to the Roman people." The senate replied, "That they had done, and would do, whatever they could to honour Masinissa; but that justice must not give place to favour; and that it was not consistent with their equity to countenance him in taking from the Carthaginians any lands, which by their treaty they were quietly to enjoy." With this mild reproof they dismissed Gulussa, making him the usual presents, (as they did also to the Carthaginians) and bidding him tell his father that

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sulship.  
Livy, B. 42.  
c. 25.

they expected he should send ambassadors more fully instructed in this affair.

About the same time, three ambassadors, of which Cn. Cervilius Cæpio was chief, returned from Macedon to Rome. They had been sent to demand satisfaction for the wrongs which Perses had done, (meaning those pretended injustices about which Eumenes had harangued in the senate), and, in case of refusal, to renounce friendship with him in the name of the republic. The report was, "That they had seen mighty preparations for war in all the towns of Macedon; that they had long waited in vain for an audience of the king; and at length, in despair of obtaining it, had set out to return home: that then they were called back, and introduced to him. That they put him in mind of the league made with his father, and renewed with himself: by which he was expressly restrained from making war out of his own dominions<sup>4</sup>; or against any state in al-

<sup>4</sup> In the form of the treaty between Philip and the Romans, as it is given by Polybius, we find no condition forbidding the king to make war abroad without leave of the republic. But Livy inserts a clause to that effect.

It is likely (says Sir W.R\*.) that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace, whereby every one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entering shortly into league with Rome, did so bind the king's hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the Romans would urge this point further, and say, that the Macedo-

\* Hist. of the World, B. 5. c. 6. Sect. 5.

liance with Rome. That they had rehearsed to him all the facts spoken of by the king of Pergamus; (they themselves having found them to be true) that they had besides mentioned some private conferences he had held, for several days, in the island of Samothrace, with ambassadors from the cities of Asia. And lastly, that in the name of the senate, they had demanded satisfaction for these injuries.

“ Hereupon, said they, the king broke out into a passion, frequently calling the Romans avaricious and proud, who thought it fitting that he should regulate all his words and actions at the nod of their daily ambassadors, with whom they pestered him, and who were no better than mere spies. After he had talked loudly and long in this strain, he ordered us to come again the day following, when he would give us, he said, an answer in writing. He did so; and it was to this effect: ‘ That he had nothing to do with the treaty made with his father: that he had renewed it, not because he

nian might not bear defensive arms without their permission; then had Perses very just reason to find himself aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without control, to make war in Thrace, (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the Thracians), and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence; why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own rebels; or to repay an Illyrian that invaded Macedon? By such allegations Perses maintained the right of his cause in very mild sort when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as unjust, [if, after all, it be true that he did so] he ministered occasion to the ambassadors to give him defiance.

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approved of it, but because, upon his first accession to the kingdom, he was obliged to bear with every thing. That if the Romans would make a new treaty with him, it must be upon equal terms; and he would then consider what his interest required; as they, he doubted not, would take care of theirs.' As soon as he had delivered us this writing, he flung away, and while they were making us withdraw, we declared, 'that we renounced his friendship and alliance.' The king, in wrath, turned back, and raising his voice, ordered us to leave his kingdom in three days. We came away; having neither at our arrival, nor while we continued at his court, received any mark of hospitality or civility."

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## CHAP. XVI.

THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR.—FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

*The disposition of the Greek and Asiatic states at this time.  
—The levies at Rome for the war.—The speech of a centurion on this occasion.—Perses sues in vain to the senate for peace.—A conference between him and Marcius, a Roman ambassador in Thessaly.—The king makes another fruitless attempt to obtain peace.*

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WHEN the people of Rome, upon a motion by the consuls, P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus, decreed war against Perses, the republic had few open enemies, and no real friends.

After the victory over Antiochus, although Macedon, Pergamus, the commonwealth of the

Achæans, and all the other states of Greece were governed by the same laws and magistrates as before the Romans came among them, and made alliances with them; yet the people which Rome had subdued to her laws and magistrates, were not more really her vassals, than the kings and nations which she called her allies. For, by her ambassadors abroad, or the decrees of her senate at home, she exercised such an empire over those allies, that no laws made by them could take place, if she interposed her will to the contrary. Nor was their election of magistrates so free as not to be influenced by the good pleasure of the overbearing republic. Add to this, that she had assumed to herself the right of deciding all quarrels between her allies; and had made it a part of her policy not to suffer, without reproof, and sometimes menaces, any of her friends to take arms, even in their own defence, before they had consulted the oracle at Rome.

This method of proceeding, whatever interpretation was put upon it by such as were actuated by private interest or fear, could not but be very grating to all generous and free spirits. The Greek states began now universally to apprehend the evil which Philopœmen had foretold; the miserable subjection to which Greece would be reduced by the Roman patronage. It was so evident both to the states and to the bordering kings, or became soon so evident, that the view of Rome was to reduce Macedon to the condition of a Roman province, which

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Legat. 77.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 29.

would make her their near and most dangerous neighbour, that if we may believe Polybius, Perses, for a very moderate sum of money well applied, might have brought all those states, and all or most of those kings, to have espoused his cause<sup>1</sup>. Of this the historian is so positive, that he says no wise man will dispute it with him. And some events which happened in the course of the war, will show this opinion not to have been ill-founded. We shall find that even Eumenes had not always that anxiety for the welfare of Rome which he expressed in his late speech to the senate. At present, however, not only he, but the kings of Syria, Egypt, and Cappadocia, offered their assistance to the Romans. The last of the three sent his son to be educated at Rome. Prusias, king of Bithynia, though married to a sister of Perses, observed an exact neutrality: the Greeks durst not refuse their aid: Carthage was in slavery to Rome. Masinissa lent his assistance: for he judged, says Livy, that should the Romans prove conquerors, his affairs would remain in their present situation; should they be vanquished, he doubted not to become master of all Africa. On the other hand, Perses had no associate but Cotys, king of the Odrysians in Thrace. Gentius, a king of Illyricum, was indeed suspected at Rome of being in the

<sup>1</sup> Polybius seems to speak of the time when Perses's arms having prospered for two years together, his affairs had a promising aspect.



Macedonian interest, but he had not yet openly declared for either side.

After the people of Rome had voted the war, the conscript fathers regulated the levies for the year. They appointed Sulpicius Galba, the prætor urbanus, to raise four Roman legions, 15,000 foot and 1200 horse of the allies; the legions to be commanded by four tribunes, chosen from among the senators. This army was to be in readiness to march whither the fathers should direct. One of the consuls was to have, for the defence of Italy, two legions of 5000 foot and 200 horse each; and of the allies 12,000 foot and 600 horse. To the consul, who should go into Macedon, the senate assigned two legions, of 6000 foot and 300 horse each; and 16,000 foot and 800 horse of the Italian confederates. They granted him also the privilege of choosing whom he pleased of the veteran soldiers and centurions, that were under fifty years old, though the law obliged no man above forty-five to serve in the army. The people on this occasion waved their right of naming a certain number of the legionary tribunes, and left the choice of them to the consuls and prætors.

Macedon fell by lot to Licinius, and Italy to Cassius. They carried on the levies with extraordinary rigour; yet many presented themselves voluntarily to Licinius, knowing that the soldiers, who had served in the first Macedonian war, and in the war against Antiochus, had returned home rich. But when

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Livy, B. 42.  
c. 35.  
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his legionary tribunes were appointing the centurions, twenty-three of those who were called upon to serve, and who had been *primipiles*, or first centurions of the *triarii*, refused to enlist themselves, and appealed to the tribunes of the commons. Two of the college would have referred the matter to the consuls, but the other eight were for taking cognizance of it themselves, and righting the appellants if aggrieved. At the desire of *Licinius* the affair was brought before the people. *M. Popillius*, who had been consul two years before, appeared as advocate for the centurions. He said, that the veterans had served the legal time, and were worn out with age and the fatigues of war; that nevertheless they did not refuse to give the remainder of their strength to the republic; they only desired that they might not be placed in a lower rank than what they had last held in the army. *Licinius* ordered the decree of the senate to be read: it imported, that war should be commenced against *Perses*, and that as many as possible of the veteran centurions should be enrolled for that war, exempting none under fifty years old. He then entreated the people that, in the present case of a war so near Italy, and against so powerful a king, they would not obstruct the levies, nor hinder the consul from so placing every man as was most for the benefit of the republic; or at least that they would refer the matter to the senate. *Licinius* having ended, one of the twenty-three appellants asked per-

mission of the consul and the tribunes to speak a few words to the people. This being granted, he said, “ My name, Romans, is Sp. Ligustinus ; I am of the Crustumian tribe, and of Sabine extraction. My father left me an acre of ground, and a little cottage, in which I was born and bred, and in which I now dwell. As soon as I was of an age to marry, my father gave me to wife his brother’s daughter. I had no fortune with her, but she was free born, chaste, and an excellent breeder ; a richer man would not desire a better. We have six sons and two daughters : the girls are married ; four of my sons are men grown. I was listed a soldier for the first time in the consulship of P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius : I served two years, a private man, in the army that went into Macedon against king Philip. The third year T. Quinctius Flaminius, in reward of my courage, made me a centurion of the tenth order of the hastati<sup>2</sup>. Philip being vanquished, we returned

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<sup>2</sup> We cannot have a tolerable notion of the CENTURIONS, without remembering, that every one of the thirty manipuli in a legion was divided into two ordines or ranks ; and consequently the three bodies of the hastati, principes, and triarii, into twenty orders a-piece, as into ten manipuli. Now every manipulus was allowed two centurions, or captains, one to each order or century : and to determine the point of priority between them, they were created at two different elections. The thirty who were made first always took the precedency of their fellows ; and therefore commanded the right-hand orders, as the others did the left.

The triarii, or pilani, [so called from their weapon, the pilum ;] being esteemed the most honourable, had their



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to Rome, and were disbanded. Presently after I went a volunteer with the consul M. Porcius into Spain. Those who have served under him and other generals well know, that there is not a more nice observer, or more critical judge of military virtue than he. This general thought me worthy of the post of first centurion of the hastati. After this I entered a volunteer in that army which was sent against the Ætolians and king Antiochus. I was then by M. Acilius CENTURIONS elected first; next to them the principes, and afterwards the hastati; whence they were called *primus et secundus pilus*, *primus et secundus princeps*, *primus et secundus hastatus*; and so on.

Here it may be observed, that *primi ordines* is used sometimes in historians, for the CENTURIONS of those orders; and the same centurions are sometimes styled *principes ordinum*, and *principes centurionum*.

We may take notice too, what a large field there lay for promotion; first through all the orders of the hastati, then quite through the principes, and afterwards from the last order of the triarii to the primipilus, the most honourable of the centurions, and who deserves to be particularly described. This officer, besides his name of primipilus, went under the several titles of *dux legionis*, *præfectus legionis*, *primus centurionum*, and *primus centurio*; and was the first centurion of the triarii in every legion. He presided over all the other centurions, and generally gave the word of command by order of the tribunes. Besides this, he had the care of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion: hence *Aquilæ præesse* is to bear the dignity of primipilus; and hence *aquila* is taken by Pliny for the said officæ. Nor was this station only honourable, but very profitable too; for he had a special stipend allowed him, probably as much as a knight's estate; and when he left that charge, was reputed equal to the members of the equestrian order, bearing the title of primipilarius, in the same manner as those who had discharged the greatest civil offices, were styled ever after *consulares*, *censorii*, &c. *Kennet. Antig. B. 4. c. 7.*

made first-centurion of the principes. Antiochus being driven out of Greece, and the Ætolians subdued, we were brought back into Italy; and here I served in two campaigns, such as the legions then made every year. Afterwards I served twice in Spain; the first time under Q. Fulvius Flaccus; the second under the prætor Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. I was amongst those whom, for their bravery, Flaccus distinguished by bringing them home to assist at his triumph; and I returned into the same province at the desire of Tiberius Gracchus. In the space of a few years I was four times first-centurion of the triarii. I have received thirty-four military rewards from my generals; and among these six civic crowns. I have made two-and-twenty campaigns, and am past fifty years old. But had I not served my full time, and if my age did not exempt me, yet, P. Licinius, as I can furnish you four soldiers, instead of one, it is but reasonable I should be excused from serving any more. But I say all this only to show the justice of my cause. So long as I am judged fit to bear arms, I shall never seek to decline it. Let the legionary tribunes place me in the post for which they think me proper. It shall be my care that no soldier in the army surpass me in bravery: that this has always been my care, the generals under whom I have made my campaigns can testify. And you, fellow-soldiers, though you have appealed, and your appeal be well founded, yet, as in your younger days you never did any thing against

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the authority of the magistrates and senate ; you will now, I am persuaded, think it right to let yourselves be disposed of as they judge convenient ; and esteem every post honourable in which you can contribute to the defence and preservation of the republic."

The consul, after highly praising Ligustinus's virtue, took him to the senate-house, where he received the thanks of the conscript fathers. And the tribunes of the soldiers, as a reward of his merit, declared him first centurion of the first legion. The other appellants, following his example, desisted from their appeal ; so that the levies went on without further opposition.

Besides the forces above mentioned, as destined for Macedon, were granted ; at the request of Licinius, 2000 Ligurians and a certain number of Cretan archers. The senate also asked of Masinissa a body of Numidian horse and some elephants.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 36.

About this time ambassadors came from Perses. They were not allowed to enter the city, because war had been already declared against their master. Being admitted to audience in the temple of Bellona, they said, " That the king wondered why the Romans had transported an army into his neighbourhood ; that if the senate could be prevailed upon to recal it, he was ready, at their determination, to make satisfaction for any injuries they should think he had done to their allies." The army the ambassadors spoke of, was that under the prætor Cn. Sicinnius, who with



5000 foot and 300 horse lay encamped near Apollonia. Sicinnius had sent Sp. Carvilius to Rome to confront the Macedonian ministers in the senate. When Carvilius had accused Perses of some usurpations upon the neighbouring states, and of several other facts which he pretended the king had done, or was preparing to do; the ambassadors were asked what they had to say in their master's justification. They answered, that they had no further commission than what they had delivered; whereupon they were bid to tell the king, that if he had a mind to give satisfaction, he might treat with the consul P. Licinius, who would shortly be in Macedon with an army; but that it was to no purpose to think of sending more ambassadors to the senate, for they would not be suffered to pass through Italy. With this answer the fathers dismissed the Macedonians, and ordered them to leave Italy in eleven days. Shortly after, the senate dispatched five of their body, L. Decimius, Q. Marcius Philippus, A. Atilius, and two of the Cornelian family, to visit Greece and the neighbouring countries. Attended by a thousand soldiers they landed at Corcyra; whither letters came to them from Perses, asking, for what reason the Romans had sent forces into Greece, and were taking possession of the towns? They would return him no answer in writing, but told the messenger who brought the letters, that what the Romans did was for the defence of the Greek cities.

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Livy, B. 42.  
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And now the ambassadors separating, L. Decimius repaired to Gentius of Illyricum, to persuade him, if possible, to take part with the republic in the war. He had no success; and even fell under a suspicion at his return to Rome, of having received bribes from the Illyrian king.

The Cornelii made a progress through Peloponnesus, exhorting the several states of that country to assist Rome against Perses, with the same alacrity and faithfulness as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. Though the Romans employed gentle words and the soft style of persuasion, the Greeks were now so well acquainted with Roman courtesy, that without hesitation they promised their ready aid<sup>3</sup>; for though not only the bulk of the peo-

<sup>3</sup> Sir W. Raleigh thinks, that this ready compliance of the Greeks to the will of the Romans may justly be imputed to the timorous conduct of Perses, who, as we have seen, no sooner learned that a small body of Roman soldiers were landed in Epirus, than he sued to the senate for peace. "Since therefore it was known that a very small thing would serve to terrify him, and consequently that it would at all times be in the power of the Romans, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those who had assisted him; little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him." May not the conduct of the Macedonian, which Sir Walter styles timorous, have been the effect of just policy? For as the king saw plainly that the Romans were determined to attack him; could he do any thing wiser, even in the view of defending himself in the best manner, than, by offers of satisfaction for injuries complained of, to make it evident to all the world, that the war was unnecessary, and therefore unjust, on the part of the Romans? We shall find that he took great pains to convince all the neighbouring states

ple, but also the wisest and best men, who had nothing in view but the good of their country, wished success to Perses; yet doubtless fear got the better of their inclinations.

Q. Marcius and A. Atilius went into Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly, to fix the people of those countries in the interest of Rome. While the two Romans were at Larissa, Perses sent to ask an interview with Marcius. The ambassadors, according to their instructions, prefaced the request with mentioning, that Marcius's father had formerly been the guest and friend of king Philip. Marcius answered, "that he had often heard his father speak of that friendship, and was far from having forgot it when he undertook his present commission; and that as soon as possible, he and his colleague would meet the king at the river Peneus, near Dium."

Perses was much pleased with Marcius's insinuation, that he had come into Greece with a view to serve him, and began to entertain hope of an accommodation. Soon after, a day being appointed for the conference, they both came to the banks of the Peneus. The question now was, which of them should pass the river. Perses claimed the compliment, on ac-

of this truth, that he might thereby induce them to side with him. It is to be observed, that no one part of Perses's conduct does in any degree suit with that violent and brutal behaviour which, by the report of Servilius Cæpio and his colleagues\*, he used towards them: there may be room therefore to doubt the truth of that report, at least we may well suspect that they gave him sufficient provocation by their insolent manner of treating him.

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\* See p.  
362, 363.



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Livy, B. 42.  
c. 40.

count of his royal dignity; Marcius thought it due to the majesty of the Roman name: besides, the king had asked the conference. The ambassador put an end to the dispute by a dull jest, which his bearing the surname of Philip furnished him with; "Let the younger," said he, "come to the elder; the son to the father." The king easily suffered himself to be persuaded; but then he was for crossing with all his retinue: to this Marcius objected, insisting, that he should come with only three attendants, or else give hostages: not that the Roman suspected any treachery, says Livy, but that the deputies from the several cities (of whom there was a great concourse at the interview) might see the superiority of the republic to the king of Macedon. Perses gave hostages, and, with all his train of attendants, passed over to Marcius. They saluted each other, not as enemies meeting to parley, but like familiar friends. When both were seated, Marcius, after a short pause, broke silence: "I believe you expect that I should answer the letter you sent to us at Corcyra, in which you ask, why we, who are ambassadors, come attended with soldiers, and put garrisons into several towns. Not to answer your question would perhaps look like pride; and the proper answer, I fear, you may think too harsh. But since he who breaks a league should be made sensible of his error, either by words or by arms, I, who had rather the commission to make war against you should be given to any body than to me, shall take

upon me the disagreeable task of reproving my friend. The senate think, that, since your accession to the throne, you have done but one thing which you ought to have done; the sending ambassadors to renew the league: and yet they judge that it would have been better not to renew it, than to renew it and afterwards break it. Abrupolis, a friend and ally of the Roman people, you have driven from his kingdom: the murderers of Artetarus (of all the Illyrian kings the most faithful to Rome) you received into your protection; thereby showing (to say nothing worse) that you rejoiced at the murder. You went with an army through Thessaly and Malæa to Delphi, contrary to our treaty: in violation of the same treaty you sent succours to the Byzantines. You secretly made a league with the Bœotians, our allies, which you ought not to have done. Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, who were coming from us—I would rather ask, who killed them, than accuse any body of the crime. The intestine war in Ætolia, and the slaughter of the chief men there—by whom but your agents can these be supposed to have been effected? In person you invaded the Dolopians, oppressing them with the ravages of war. Eumenes, returning from Rome into his kingdom, was almost slain as a victim before the altars at Delphi—I am loth to mention the person whom he accuses. I know you have had an account, by letters from Rome, and by your ambassadors, of the discovery which Ram-

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mius of Brundusium made to us, of certain secret machinations. The only way to have avoided hearing these things from me, was, not to have asked why the Romans sent an army into Macedon, or why they garrison the cities of their allies. My remembrance of the friendship between our fathers inclines me to lend a partial ear to what you can say in your justification; and I wish you may furnish me with arguments to plead your cause in the senate."

To this the king: "I have a cause unquestionably good if I had impartial judges; but I am to plead it before those who are both my judges and accusers. Of the things objected to me, some I have perhaps reason to glory in; some I need not be ashamed to own; and others, as they are only asserted, not proved, they will be sufficiently confuted by a bare denial. If I were this day to be tried by your laws, what could the informer Rammius or Eumenes allege against me, that would not be deemed rather slander than truth? Had Eumenes, who so heavily oppresses many private persons, as well as states, no enemy but me? And could I find no fitter instrument than Rammius, whom I had never seen before, and whom I was never to see again? You are pleased to call me to account for the murder of the two Thebans and Artetarus. The Thebans, every body knows, perished by shipwreck: as to the latter, what does the accusation amount to? Why truly, that his murderers, when banished, fled into my kingdom. Will you then



grant yourselves to be chargeable with all the crimes of those exiles who take refuge in Italy? And how can a man be condemned to banishment, if there be no place to which he may be banished? Yet, as to those assassins, as soon as I understood from you that they were in Macedon, I ordered them to be sought out, expelled, and forbid to return into my dominions. These things are objected to me, as to a man arraigned before a court of justice; the rest, as to a king, and relates to the treaty between you and me. Was it any breach of that treaty to defend myself against the invasion of Abrupolis, your ally? What could I do, when he laid waste my territories as far as Amphipolis, and carried off many of my subjects, with their cattle and effects? Would you have had me sit still, and suffer him to enter Pella? come armed even into my palace? But, it seems, I ought not to have vanquished him, nor to have treated him as a vanquished enemy. How can he, an invader, complain of suffering what I, whom he attacked, was exposed to suffer? As to my reducing the Dolopians by force; had not I a right to do it? Are they not my subjects? Their country, is it not a part of my kingdom, assigned to my father by your decree? Can any man think that I dealt severely with rebels, who took away the life of my lieutenant, Euphranor, their governor, by such tortures, that death was the least part of his sufferings? After visiting Larissa, Antrona, and Pteleum, in the neighbourhood of which

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places I had many vows to pay, I went up to sacrifice at Delphi. This is made a crime; and, to aggravate this crime, it is added, that I took my army with me; as if my view had been to seize upon towns, and garrison castles, as you now do. Call a council of all the Greek cities by which I passed; and, if any one can prove he has sustained damage by my soldiers, I am willing it should be thought, that under the pretence of a sacrifice I concealed other designs. I sent assistance to the Ætolians and Byzantines, and made a league with the Bœotians. These actions, of whatever nature they be, my ambassadors have not only mentioned, but often justified in your senate, where I met with some arbitrators not so favourable to me as you, Q. Marcius, my paternal friend and guest. Yet Eumenes had not then been at Rome with his accusations; nor by calumnies and misconstructions made me suspected and hated: he had not yet endeavoured to persuade you, that, while the kingdom of Macedon was safe, Greece could not be free, nor enjoy the advantages you procured her. A complaint of this kind (and better founded) you will soon hear; you will be told, that you have done nothing by confining Antiochus within mount Taurus; that Eumenes is more oppressive to Asia than the Syrian ever was; and that your allies will never be in quiet while there is a palace in Pergamus.

“ All that you have objected, Q. Marcius, and all that I have answered, will, I know, be

construed by the hearers according to their dispositions; nor is it of so much consequence what I have done, or with what views, as in what light you will see my actions. I am conscious to myself that I have not offended knowingly; and, if through ignorance I have transgressed, your reprehension will be sufficient to make me correct what is amiss. Assuredly I have done nothing which cannot be remedied; nor for which you can think I deserve to be prosecuted by war. With little reason is your moderation and clemency famous among the nations, if, for causes scarce worth complaining of, you take arms against a king, who is your friend and your ally."

Marcus affected to appear much satisfied with the king's discourse, and advised him to send new ambassadors to Rome; that nothing might be omitted which could give the least hope of an accommodation. To this end a truce seemed necessary, and though Marcus's sole view in granting the king a conference, was to draw him to ask a truce; yet, when he did ask it, the Roman raised mighty difficulties, complying at length (as he pretended) merely out of personal regard to the son of Philip. Marcus meant nothing by all this but to make Perses lose time, who being ready for action, might have done something considerable, before the consul Licinius with his army could arrive in Greece.

After this interview the Roman ambassadors went into Bœotia, the people of which country

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sulship.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 43.

c. 43. 44.  
Polybius  
Legat. 63.



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had, not long before, made a league with the Macedonian. Great dissensions had since arisen among them; some declaring for the king, others for the Romans. The Thebans, and, after their example, all the other petty states of Bœotia, offered now to enter into an alliance with Rome. Marcius would not treat with them jointly, but obliged each city to send its respective minister to Rome to treat separately for itself. By thus dividing them into many independent states, he weakened them all. They were never after united.

From Bœotia Marcius repaired to the diet of the Achæans convened at Argos. He demanded of them a thousand men to garrison Chalcis till the Roman army should come into Greece; which demand was instantly complied with.

Polyb. Le-  
gat. 64.

About the same time Rome sent deputies into the most considerable islands of Asia, to ask assistance in the war against Perses. The Rhodians distinguished themselves on this occasion. They thought it necessary to efface the impressions, which their differences with Eumenes, and their complaisance for Perses in several instances, particularly in convoying his wife to him from Asia, had made in the minds of the Romans. The deputies therefore no sooner arrived, but they were showed a fleet of galleys equipped for the service of Rome, and ready to put to sea: this mark of zeal had the desired effect.

Polyb. Le-  
gat. 65.

Perses, in consequence of what had passed

between him and Marcius, dispatched ambassadors to Rome to negotiate the treaty of peace, which he imagined to be already begun by that conference. At the same time he, by circular letters to the neighbouring states, gave an account of his conversation with the Roman: and this he did, not only to set forth the justice of his cause, but to learn how they stood affected. To the Rhodians he sent ambassadors, exhorting them to stand neuter, and in case the Romans should refuse him a peace, to take upon them the office of mediators; an office which, he said, more properly belonged to them than any others, as being the most powerful of the Greek states, and not only zealous for their own liberty, but guardians of the liberty of all Greece. These ambassadors met with a friendly reception, but were answered, "that the Rhodians desired the king not to ask them to do any thing which might be disapproved by the Romans."

The same ambassadors going thence into Bœotia, succeeded little better in that country. Only Coronea and Haliartus came over to the king's interest, and sent to him for garrisons to secure them against the Thebans, who still adhered to the opposite interest. Perses answered, that he could not send them garrisons, because of his truce with Rome.

When Marcius and his colleague, at their return home, gave an account to the senate of their negotiations, they boasted much of having deceived Perses into a truce, which hindered

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Livy, B. 42.  
c. 46. et  
seq.

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dred se-  
venty.

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sulship.

him from beginning the war with the advantages he was master of, and gained time to the Romans to finish their preparations. Nor did these able ministers forget to mention their dexterity in so dissolving the Bœotian league, that the states of that country would never more be in a condition jointly to make an alliance with the Macedonian. Livy tells us, that some of the older senators were far from being pleased with the craft and dissimulation of the ambassadors. Be that as it will, the majority of the fathers approving of what had been done, Marcius was again sent into Greece, with a commission to act there as he should think most for the interest of the republic.

The senate, though determined to pursue the war against Perses, yet, that it might not be too plain how much he had been deluded, granted audience to his ambassadors. But neither their excuses nor their entreaties availed any thing: they were ordered to leave the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. It is probable that the fathers thought, they sufficiently covered the deceit of Marcius, by admitting these ambassadors within the walls of the city, and allowing them so long a time for their departure out of Italy; whereas the former ambassadors from the king had been received without the walls, and had been allowed but eleven days for their departure.



## CHAP. XVII.

## FIRST AND SECOND YEARS OF THE WAR.

*The consul Licinius arrives with his army in Thessaly.—Perses having obtained some advantage over the Romans, makes new proposals for peace, which are rejected.—The consul declines a general battle.—M. Lucretius robs king Gentius of his fleet.—Hostilius, the successor of Licinius, in vain attempts to penetrate into Macedon.—The management of some Roman ambassadors in Greece.—The Romans receive kindly a gross piece of flattery from a city of Asia.*

PERSER was so effectually cheated by the arts of Marcius, that the consul Licinius arrived with his army at Apollonia, almost as soon as the Macedonian ambassadors got back to their master at Pella. In a council held by the king, a few days before, some had advised him to purchase a peace of the Romans, though it should cost him not only a yearly tribute, but even a part of his dominions. The majority, however, being more magnanimous, and declaring for war: "WAR then let us have," said Perses, "and the gods grant us success." And now he ordered all his forces to be drawn together, and appointed their rendezvous at Cition, a town in Macedon; and thither with his courtiers and his guards he himself repaired. His forces consisted of 39,000 foot and 4000 horse: a more numerous army (says Livy) than any king of Macedon had ever brought into the field, except Alexander the Great. Perses, in a speech to his troops, recalled to their minds

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Livy, B. 42.  
c. 50.

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sulship.

the glory of their ancestors; expatiated on the injustice, treachery, and insolence of the Romans; and represented the goodness of his cause, and the ample provision he had made for the war. His harangue was frequently interrupted by the applauses of the soldiers, and loud expressions of indignation and anger against the Romans. The assembly dismissed, he gave audience to the deputies from the several towns of Macedon, which had sent offers of money and provisions, each according to its ability. Having first thanked them, he answered, that he desired nothing of them but carriages for his engines of war.

The Macedonian marched out of his own kingdom into Thessaly, knowing that the Romans were to come that way to meet him. Some towns yielded to him without resistance; others he took by force. Elatia and Gonni, places of great importance, because standing in the entrance of the Strait of Tempe, opened their gates upon the first summons. Having well fortified this pass, he advanced to Sycurium, situated at the foot of Mount Ossa, where, pitching his camp, he resolved to wait the coming of the enemy.

Livy, B. 42.  
c. 55.

From Apollonia, Licinius marched his army through Athamania to Gomphi in Thessaly: for it was only through Thessaly that they could penetrate into Macedon; unless they would run the hazard of being starved in the mountains of Dassaretia. At Gomphi the consul stayed some days to refresh his troops, much fa-

tigued by the rough and difficult roads<sup>1</sup> through which they had passed. On advice that the Macedonians were ravaging the eastern part of Thessaly, he advanced towards Larissa, and encamped by the river Peneus.

About this time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus. The last stayed in this place with 2000 foot to strengthen the garrison: Eumenes and Attalus, with 4000 foot and 1000 horse, joined the consul; as did also some other auxiliaries, but in small numbers.

To draw the Romans to a good distance from their camp, and fight them with advantage, Perses sent out some detachments to ravage the territory of Pheræ, a city in alliance with Rome. The consul, however, did not stir; which encouraged the Macedonian to think of insulting him in his intrenchments. At ten o'clock in the morning, the king, with his whole

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Livy, B. 42.  
c. 57.

<sup>1</sup> Livy says, that the Romans were exceedingly rejoiced when they arrived at Gomphi, as thinking that they had escaped a very great danger; for had Perses, with his army ranged in good order for battle, advanced and met them, while they were yet weary and struggling with the difficulties of the way, they would probably have suffered a great overthrow. And Sir W. Raleigh blames Perses for not having brought his army to defend the pass of Aous, where his father Philip formerly stopped the Roman legions for a considerable time. But may it not be questioned, whether Perses could easily have done either of these things? For at this time the Thessalians, (through whose country he must have marched, to post himself at the pass of Aous, or to attack the Romans in Athamania) were his enemies; whereas in the former war, Philip was master of Thessaly.



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army, appeared within a mile of the enemy. Here he made his infantry halt, and went forward with his cavalry and light-armed troops. Perceiving soon after a small party of Romans coming towards him, he detached about an equal number to skirmish with them. The action proved of little importance, and it was hard to say which side had the victory. Perses returned to Sycurium. Next day he led his army again within sight of the enemy's lines; and there being no convenient watering in the march, which was of twelve miles length, in a dusty road, he brought water with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. The Romans kept close within their trenches, so that no action followed. Perses repeated this movement for several days together, in hopes that the Roman cavalry would be detached to fall upon his rear guard, and that then, suddenly facing about he might attack them at a considerable distance from their camp; in which case, as he was superior in horse and light-armed foot, he doubted not of victory. Disappointed of this hope, he came and posted himself seven miles nearer the enemy; and the next day, having, at sun-rising, drawn up his infantry in the same place as before, he led all his cavalry and light-armed troops within less than half a mile of the Roman intrenchments. His coming at such an unusual hour filled the camp with tumult; and though the troops he brought with him being unfit to assail trenches, the consul had

no apprehension of such an attempt, yet, to check the king's pride, he sent out to battle all his horse, light-armed infantry, and auxiliaries; he himself remaining in the camp with his legions in readiness for action. The honour of this morning was entirely the king's. With the loss of only 20 horse and 40 foot, he slew about 2000 of the Roman infantry and 200 of their horse; and took the like number of horse prisoners. Upon the first news of his victory the captains of his phalanx led it to him, though unsent for, that he might attack the enemy's camp. But success in such an enterprise was an object too great for the hopes of Perses. Evander, the Cretan, who, probably, from the king's irresolution, inferred the bias of his thoughts, advised him not rashly to hazard all, in an unnecessary enterprise; adding, that the advantage he had already gained would either procure him honourable conditions of peace, or at least many associates in the war. There needed no more to make Perses lead back his army to the camp.

In the mean time the Romans were fearing what the Macedonian durst not hope. Eumenes advised the consul to dislodge by night, and remove to the other side of the river Peneus; and Licinius, though ashamed to avow his fear, yet followed the advice, since reason so required.

Next day Perses advanced with his army, to provoke the enemy once more to battle. When he perceived them safely intrenched on the other side of the river, he became sensible (says

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sulship.  
Plut. Life  
of P. Æ-  
mil. and  
Livy, B. 42.  
c. 59.

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DLXXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred se-  
venty.

281st Con-  
sulship.

Livy) of the error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing his victory ; and of the greater error he had been guilty of, by his inaction in the night ; because his light-armed troops alone would have been sufficient to destroy a great part of the enemy in their passage of the river.

On the other hand, the Romans, though now no longer uneasy with the apprehension of being suddenly attacked, were grievously mortified by the loss they had sustained, especially of their reputation. In a council of war every one threw the blame from himself upon the Ætolians. Five of the chief men among these had been observed to be the first who turned their backs : the Thessalians, who had made a good retreat, were praised, and rewarded with military honours and presents.

Perses, having lost the opportunity of gaining another victory, endeavoured to draw some new advantage from that which he had gained, by extolling it in a pompous harangue to his soldiers, and by persuading them, that it was a sure prognostic of a happy issue of the war. They all heard him with delight. Those who had been in the action grew braver from the praise ; and the Phalangites, from the hope of meriting the like glory. Next day the king made a march, and pitched his camp upon a rising ground near Mopsium, between Tempe and Larissa. This motion probably obliged the Romans to dislodge. They removed to a stronger post, still keeping on the banks of the Peneus. Hither Misagenes, the son of Masi-



nissa, brought them a reinforcement of 1000 horse, as many foot, and 22 elephants.

Although Perses had seemed as if he meant to press hard upon the Romans, he was yet easily persuaded to lay hold of the favourable opportunity, which some of his courtiers thought he now had, by his late victory<sup>2</sup>, of obtaining peace. He sent to the consul an offer of submitting to the same conditions which had been imposed on his father Philip. The constancy of the Romans showed itself remarkably on this occasion. They unanimously agreed, in council, to return the harshest answer possible: "That Perses must surrender himself and his kingdom to the Romans at discretion, or expect no peace." Some of the king's counsellors, provoked by the Roman pride, advised him never more to think of an accommodation. Perses could not relish this advice. He thought that the Romans would not have acted in so haughty a manner, but from a well-grounded confidence in their superiority of strength. Once more therefore he sent to Licinius; and now offered a larger tribute than had been paid by Philip. Finding that peace could not be purchased with money, he retired to Sycurium; for what reason is not said.

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One hundred se-  
venty.

281st Con-  
sulship.

Polybius,  
Legat. 69.

<sup>2</sup> "Over great (says Sir W. R.) was the folly of the king in hoping then for peace; and, in suing for it, even when he had the victory, what else did he, than proclaim to all who were inclined to take part with him, that neither good nor bad fortune would keep him from yielding to the Romans, whenever they would be pleased to accept of him?"

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One hun-  
dred se-  
venty.

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sulship.  
Livy, B. 42.  
c. 48.

During these transactions, C. Lucretius, the Roman admiral, was besieging Haliartus in Bœotia. He had sailed from Italy with only 45 quinqueremes; but this fleet was now much augmented by the dexterous management of his brother Marcus, whom he had sent before him, with orders to get what ships he could from the Italian allies, sail with them to Cephallenia, and there wait his arrival. Marcus in his way had stopped at Dyrrachium, where, finding in the haven 76 vessels, of which 54 belonged to king Gentius, the rest to the Dyrrachians and Issæans, he took them all away with him, pretending to believe that they had been fitted out for the service of the Romans, though, in truth, Gentius had not yet declared himself for either party.

c. 63.

Haliartus, after a vigorous defence, was taken by assault, sacked and razed. From thence the prætor marched his forces to Thebes, which opened her gates to him upon the first summons. He put the government of the town into the hands of the partizans of Rome; and all who had favoured the king of Macedon he sold for slaves. After these exploits in Bœotia, he returned to his ships.

Perses, at Sycurium, heard that the Romans, having hastily gathered in the corn from the fields around them, were cutting off the ears with sickles before the doors of their tents, so that the camp was full of heaps of straw. This suggested to him the hope of being able to burn their camp; and his men having provided them-

selves with torches, and all things proper for the purpose, he set out in the middle of the night, that he might fall upon the enemy at day-break. But the alarm being taken in good time, he failed in this enterprise. Once more he offered the enemy battle; which they declining, he again brought his army to Mopsium, because Sycurium was at too great a distance from the Romans, and because of the difficulty, before mentioned, of getting water in the way. From Mopsium he advanced with 2000 foot and 1000 horse, fell upon some parties of the enemy while they were busy in reaping, and took 600 prisoners, and 1000 carts, most of them loaded. Not content with this success, he attacked a body of 800 Romans, that had been stationed to guard the reapers. The consul, upon notice of the danger his men were in, hastened with the best part of his army to their relief. Perses faced the Roman legions, and sent orders to his phalanx to advance; very unadvisedly, (says Livy) because, the great number of carts he had sent off being in the way, the phalanx could not possibly come time enough to his assistance. He was now overpowered by numbers, and forced to retire, with the loss of 300 foot and 24 of his horse-guards. A few days after this misfortune, the winter approaching, he retired into Macedon<sup>3</sup>.

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One hundred se-  
venty.

281st Con-  
sulship.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch reports, that Perses surprised the Roman fleet this year at Oreum; took four quinqueremes, and twenty ships of burden, and sunk many others loaded with corn.  
*Life of Æmil.*



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R O M E  
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One hun-  
dred se-  
venty.

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sulship.

On the king's departure, Licinius went straight to Gonni, hoping to have taken it, and thereby to have got an entrance into Tempe. But finding the enterprise too difficult, he turned off into Perrhæbia, where he reduced several towns. Thence he went to Larissa in Thessaly, which he also made himself master of; the Macedonian garrison having deserted it. How this place or Demetrias (which it is said the consul had thoughts of besieging) fell into the hands of the Macedonians is no where related; nor is it easy to guess, unless perhaps Perses, after his victory, did greater acts than we find recorded; and conquered some part of Thessaly. The accounts of what happened in Greece about this time are very imperfect.

Licinius having dismissed all his allies, except the Achæans, quartered his army for the winter in Thessaly and Bœotia, into which latter country he himself went, at the request of the Thebans, who were distressed by their neighbours, the people of Coronæa.

Livy, B. 43.  
c. 1.

The consul had, in the summer, sent one of his lieutenants, with a body of troops, into Illyricum. This man reduced two opulent towns to surrender, and granted the inhabitants their effects; hoping, by an appearance of clemency, to engage another town of great strength, in the neighbourhood, to submit to him. But finding that this town would neither yield to his virtue nor to his arms, he returned and pillaged the two which he had before spared.

Cassius, the other consul, whose lot confined

him to Gaul, where there was little to do, had, from a spirit of emulation, attempted to make his way into Macedon through Illyricum. The senatē in all haste recalled him, being much displeased that he should dare, without orders, to undertake so dangerous a march through many strange countries, and thereby show the people of those countries a way into Italy.

Perses was not idle during the winter. He had lately dismissed, with large presents, his ally, Cotys, king of the Odrysians in Thrace, to go to the defence of his own country, invaded by some of his Thracian neighbours, in conjunction with a body of Pergamenians. The Macedonian now marched to his assistance, and defeated the invaders.

About the same time Epirus, or a great part of it, revolted to Perses from the Romans; a revolution brought about by one Cephalus, on occasion of an intestine discord.

At Rome, the *comitia* raised to the consulship A. Hostilius Mancinus and A. Atilius Serenus; and gave Hortensius the command of the fleet. To Hostilius fell the province of Macedon. Little progress was made in the war during his year. He twice unsuccessfully attempted to penetrate into Macedon; once by the way of Elimæa, where Perses defeated him in battle; and then by the Cambunian mountains. After this the king marched against the Dardanians, cut in pieces their army, consisting of 10,000 men, ravaged their country, and carried off a great booty.

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One hundred  
seventy.

281st Consulship.

Polyb. Ex-  
cerpt. L. 27.  
Livy, B. 43.  
c. 18.

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R O M E  
DLXXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred  
sixty-nine.

282d Consulship.  
Plut.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred sixty-  
nine..

282d Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B 43.  
c. 10.

c. 12.

In the mean time Appius Claudius, whom the consul had detached with an army of 4000 men, and who by levies among the confederates had doubled this army, entered Illyricum. Thinking to have taken Uscana, (a town on the confines of that country and Macedon) by the promised treachery of the Cretan garrison that defended it, he fell into a snare: for advancing, in careless order, to the gates of the town, both the garrison and the inhabitants sallied out upon him on a sudden, and attacked him so vigorously, that not above a fourth part of his whole army escaped the slaughter. Yet this town shortly after became Roman, by what means is no where said. But we are told that Perses recovered it in the winter, he having then leisure to lead his forces into Illyricum, the only side on which his kingdom was exposed: for Cotys secured it on the side of Thrace; Cephalus on that of Epirus; Perses himself had lately quelled the Dardanians; and the snows made the mountains of Thessaly impassable to the Romans. After reducing Uscana and the neighbouring towns, where he took many prisoners, and among the rest 4000 Romans, he made a painful expedition into Ætolia. He had been promised admission into Stratus, the strongest city in that country. Of this hope though he were disappointed, by the prevalence of the Roman faction in the place, yet in his return home he got possession of Aperantia, and soon after received the agreeable news that Clevas, one of his lieutenants,



had gained a new and entire victory over Appius Claudius.

As for Hortensius, the Roman admiral, he performed nothing but against the allies of the republic, whom he cruelly oppressed, as his predecessor Lucretius<sup>4</sup> had also done. The heavy complaints brought to Rome against these two admirals, and some other Roman commanders, put the senate under a necessity of passing a decree, "That no man should be obliged to pay obedience to a Roman magistrate imposing any burden for the present war, unless he could produce an order from the senate for such imposition."

The Greeks were at this time indirectly menaced by certain ambassadors from Rome (C. Popillius Lenas and Cn. Octavius) who travelled through all the cities of Peloponnesus, and, while they cried up the great clemency and indulgence of the senate, so conspicuous in the decree before mentioned, gave to understand, that they very well knew how every one was inclined; who among them were zealous for the Roman cause, and who were lukewarm. These ambassadors would have accused by name, in the diet of Achaia, Lycortas and his son Polybius, as men ill affected to Rome, and waiting only for an opportunity to raise disturbances. But because no colour of truth could be found to countenance such a charge, or perhaps be-

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R O M E  
DLXXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.

One hundred sixty-nine.

232d Consulship.

Livy, B. 43.  
c. 17.

Polybius,  
Legat. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Lucretius was afterwards accused of this, and condemned in a great fine, by the unanimous suffrages of all the tribes.

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred sixty-  
nine.

282d Con-  
sulship.  
Id. Leg.  
74 and 75.

Sir W. Ra-  
leigh, from  
Livy, B. 43.  
c. 6.

cause the Roman affairs had not greatly prospered of late in Greece, it was thought better for the present to forbear the prosecution, and give gentle words, as if all were well. They acted much the same part in Ætolia and Acarnania; using soft words even to those whom they suspected of being in the Macedonian interest; and desisting from some demands, because they found them disagreeable to the people.

“ Among the great number of embassies that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their services, it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a town of the Lesser Asia, there was presented unto the senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These Alabanders brought 300 horsemen’s targets, and a crown of gold to bestow upon Jupiter in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratify the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance, they built a temple unto the town Rome, and appointed anniversary games to be celebrated among them in honour of that goddess. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolemy, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the shameful flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of men, divine honours; when he sees a town of houses, wherein powerful men dwell, worshipped as a goddess; and

receiving (without scorn of the givers, or shame of the present) the title of deity, at the gift of such a rascal city as Alabanda<sup>5</sup> ?”

Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hundred sixty-nine.

282d Consulship.

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### CHAP. XVIII.

#### THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR.

*The Roman army under the command of the consul Q. Marcius Philippus penetrates into Macedon.—The extravagant conduct of Perses.—The imprudence of Marcius.—Polybius, sent ambassador from the Achæans to Marcius, conducts himself with great discretion.*

AFTER the war against Perses had lasted two years, he was in a better condition to sustain it than at the beginning. He had not only hindered the Romans hitherto from entering his country, but had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian side. And his continual success had much increased the reputation of his arms. On the other hand, the consuls Licinius and Hostilius had successively wasted their time in fruitless attempts to force a passage into Macedon, defacing the glorious enterprise of conquest by many losses received. Nor was it only by the casualties of war that the army became greatly diminished, but by the facility of the military tribunes, or perhaps of Hostilius himself, (for they laid the blame each upon the other) in licensing the soldiers to go home. The admirals of the republic had so demeaned themselves as

<sup>5</sup> In the consulship of Cato the elder, Smyrna paid the same compliment to Rome. *Tacit. An.* 4. c. 56.



Year of  
R O M E  
DLXXXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
One hun-  
dred sixty-  
eight.

283d Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 2. et seq.

to make many of the towns, which had declared for Rome, weary of the alliance. And all these things together occasioned, for a time, a general discouragement<sup>1</sup> among the Romans.

To Hostilius succeeded Q. Marcius Philippus, who with Cn. Servilius Cæpio had been elected to the consulship for the new year. Marcius, with a large reinforcement, which he had brought from Italy, joined the army at Pharsalus. Purposing to prosecute the war with vigour, he presently after his arrival consulted the guides concerning the best way to penetrate into Macedon. Some advised him to go by the way of Pythium; some by the Cambunian mountains, where Hostilius had attempted a passage the last year; and others by the side of the lake Ascuris. The consul would determine nothing, till he should come to the place where the road he was now in, branched out into three roads, which led to those passes. In the mean time Perses heard of the enemy's approach, and being uncertain what way they would take, distributed his own forces to the defence of all places, which might give entrance, or permit ascent. When Marcius was come to the three roads before mentioned, and had heard the opinion of his council, he determined to proceed by

<sup>1</sup> Livy reports, that on advice of the bad success of the war in Macedon, the prætor, by order of the senate, published an edict, commanding all the senators in Italy, (who were not absent on affairs of the republic) to repair to Rome; and forbidding those who were in the city to go above a mile from it. B. 43. c. 11.

that road which led by the lake Ascuris<sup>2</sup>; and accordingly sent before him 4000 foot to seize the most convenient posts in the way. Two days was this detachment embarrassed in overcoming the difficulty of only fifteen miles. After marching seven miles further they possessed themselves of a safe piece of ground, from whence they had sight of a body of 12,000 Macedonians, which, under the command of Hippas, the king had appointed to defend that pass. Marcius, having received notice of the situation of his detachment, hastened to join it: Hippas, not in the least dismayed at his appearance, met him, and fought with him, two or three days successively, each returning to his own camp at night, with little loss on either side. These conflicts being on the narrow ridge of a mountain, where but a small number could march in front, few men were employed; all the rest were spectators. It was impossible for Marcius to get forwards, yet both shameful and dangerous to return. He therefore took the only course remaining. Part of his men he left with Popillius, to amuse the enemy, whilst he himself with the rest fetched a compass, seeking a passage by ways that had never been trodden, and being compelled to make paths, where nature seemed to have intended

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<sup>2</sup> Geographers are not agreed where to place the lake of Ascuris; but the situation of it may be conjectured from hence, that when Marcius was got to the top of the hill which overlooked it, he could see Phila, Dium, and all the sea-coast. This hill was twelve miles from Dium.

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that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountain, that his men, for the most part, rolled themselves down, not daring to trust their feet. And when they had gone or tumbled four miles of this troublesome journey, they desired nothing more earnestly than that they might be allowed to creep back again, if possible, by the way they had come. To add to the other difficulties, the elephants, through fear, recoiled from the precipices, cast their governors, and made such terrible noises, as affrighted the horses : so that they caused among the troops a confusion almost as great, as if an enemy had broke in upon them by surprise. Shift, however, was made to let down the huge beasts by a kind of bridge, of which the one end was joined to the edge of the cliff, the other sustained by two posts fastened in the ground below. These bridges were covered with turf, that the beasts might not fear to go upon them. When an elephant had got some way upon one of these bridges, the posts upholding it were cut ; which made him slide down to the next bridge, that began where the first ended. In like manner he was conveyed to the third, and so onward to the bottom of the descent.

After seven miles, the army came to a plain, and there rested a whole day, waiting for Popilius, who probably stole away in the night ; for had the enemy followed him, and set upon him from the higher ground, (which doubtless they would have done, had they known of his motion,) he must infallibly have been cut off.



The third and fourth day's march were like the first; only that custom, and the nearness to their journey's end, without meeting an enemy, animated the soldiers more cheerfully to endure the fatigue. The fourth day they encamped in the fields near Heracleum, about midway between Tempe and Dium, where the king had posted himself with the main of his army.

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Perses seems now to have been struck with fear beyond comprehension, and to have entirely lost his reason; for, could he have seen his own advantage, nothing had been more easy for him than to make the Roman general repent of his adventurous march. Marcius had indeed avoided the Strait of Tempe<sup>3</sup>, and got beyond it; but he was enclosed between that strait and Dium<sup>4</sup>; neither of which could he have forced, had the Macedonians defended them: so that he and his army must

<sup>3</sup> Tempe was a valley five miles in length and very narrow; bounded on one side by Mount Olympus, and on the other by Mount Ossa; between which, and through the middle of the valley, ran the river Peneus. The road lay on the side of a frightful precipice, along the river, and was so narrow, says Livy, that a loaded mule had scarce room to pass. To defend this strait, Perses had posted a detachment at Gonni, in the entrance of the valley; another further on at Condylon, an impregnable fortress; a third at a place called Characa; and a fourth in the road itself, and where the valley was narrowest.

<sup>4</sup> Dium stood at the foot of Mount Olympus, on the side towards Thessaly, and about a mile from the sea; of which mile, the river Baphyrus, becoming there a lake, took up the one half; the rest was such as might be easily fortified.

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have perished for want of provisions, unless he could have gone back the way he came ; a thing impracticable, considering that the enemy, being now aware of the path he had made, would have fallen upon him from the tops of the hills, of which they were masters. There was no fourth way. Yet the cowardice of Perses gave a colour of prudence to the rashness of the consul : for the king no sooner heard that the enemy were come over the mountains to Heracleum, but, crying out, that he was vanquished without fighting, he took from Diium what valuable things he could carry away in haste, abandoned the town, and retired with his army to Pydna. In the same vehemency of amazement, he sent strict commands to burn, without delay, his naval stores at Thessalonica, and to throw his treasures, that were at Pella, into the sea ; as if the Romans were just at the gates of those two cities, and going to take possession. Nicias, who received the order to drown the treasure, performed it as expeditiously as he could ; yet, not so desperately, but that, when the king regretted the loss, the greater part was recovered by diving. As to the naval stores, Andronicus, who had charge to set fire to them, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow. Whether Nicias, for his absolute and blind obedience, or Andronicus, for his prudent forethought, merited the greater commendation, it lay in the king's breast to determine. The reward of their service was this: Perses, growing ashamed

of his mad cowardice, caused them both to be slain. Those poor men also, who had fetched his treasure out of the sea, were recompensed after the same manner; that so there might be no witness of the king's frantic fear.

To fill up the measure of his folly, he withdrew his garrisons from Tempe, and called Hippias away from the pass of Ascuris, as also Asclepiodorus, from the guard of another pass; and these men he openly reproached, as if they, and not he, had betrayed to the enemy the gates and bars of Macedon.

Marcus took Dium without resistance, and from thence went forwards into the country; but, after three days, was compelled, by want of provisions<sup>5</sup>, to return. His fleet, which he had ordered to steer along the coast, came to him at this time; but had left the storeships behind at Magnesia. Luckily for him, Lucretius, one of his lieutenants, whom he had employed to seize the fortresses of Tempe, (abandoned by the Macedonians) found there plenty of corn; of which good fortune he gave the consul notice. The sooner to get this corn, Marcus quitted Dium, and went to Phila<sup>6</sup>, to meet the convoy that was coming to him; by which foolish journey he lost not only that im-

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Livy, B. 44.  
c. 7.

<sup>5</sup> It is likely, that the greater part of his stores (for he had taken a month's provision with him from Pharsalus) was lost among the mountains; otherwise he could not have been in such distress, as, without any opposition from the enemy, to be forced to quit his enterprise.

<sup>6</sup> A town between Dium and Tempe.



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portant place, but his reputation. For he was now thought a coward, or, at least, an unskilful general; since he thus retreated, when it most imported him to have pushed forward.

The imprudence of Marcius brought the king to see his own error. To correct it in the best manner he could, he quickly repossessed himself of Dium, and repaired its fortifications, having found it dismantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped strongly behind the river Enipeus. Less diligence, more early employed, would have been enough to have gained him ample revenge upon Marcius, who had formerly deceived him by an idle hope of peace. And even his recovering and fortifying Dium, and his posting himself on the Enipeus, made it impracticable for the consul to do any thing towards the conquest of Macedon in all the continuance of his office. He took indeed Heracleum, and made a feint as if he would have driven the king further off, and retaken Dium; but he had nothing so great either in his intention or hope, his chief care being to provide winter quarters. In order to facilitate the conveyance of provisions from Thessaly to Heracleum, he caused the roads to be cleared, and magazines to be erected in the most convenient places. He also sent the admiral to make attempts upon the maritime towns, Thessalonica, Cassandrea, Demetrias, and others: but though this commander was assisted by Eumenes with twenty ships of war, and had five from king Prusias, he met with no success in

any one of these enterprises, but lost a considerable number of men.

As Marcius acquired little honour by this campaign, so he showed himself very unwilling that Appius Claudius, who commanded on the side of Illyricum, should acquire more. At the time when Perses, by the success of his arms against Hostilius, had gained great reputation, Archo, Lycortas, and the patriots among the Achæans, judged it for the good of the nation to assist the Romans, in their adversity, whom, in their prosperity, they were never prone to flatter. Archo therefore proposed a decree, which passed, "that the Achæans should send their whole strength into Thessaly, and share all dangers with the Romans." Polybius and others were appointed ambassadors to Marcius, to acquaint him with this decree, and to know his pleasure. Finding the consul busy in seeking a passage into Macedon, they went along with the army, but mentioned nothing of their commission till he was got to Heracleum. Then Polybius presented the decree; at the same time setting forth how invariably obedient the Achæans had been, during the course of this war, to every command of the Romans. Marcius in very strong terms expressed his satisfaction in the proofs of their good-will; but said, that he now needed no assistance. Instantly Polybius dispatched his colleagues home to report the consul's answer, staying himself behind in the camp. After

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Polybius,  
Legat. 78.

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a while, Marcius had advice, that Appius Claudius desired of the Achæans 5000 men, to be sent him into Epirus. There could be no room to doubt but Appius had need of these men, and might, with such an accession of strength, do signal service, by obliging Perses to divide his forces. Nevertheless Marcius desired Polybius to return into Achaia, and take especial care that no such aid were sent to Appius: the Achæans, he said, ought not to be burdened with an expense to furnish troops that were not wanted. Away went Polybius, musing, and unable to resolve whether the consul's earnestness in this affair proceeded from affection to the Achæans, or from envy towards Appius. And when the matter came to be debated in the Achæan diet, Polybius was in a new perplexity; the issue nearly concerning himself and those of his party. For should he neglect what the consul had given him in charge, he was sure to incur his resentment; and, on the other hand, he considered, that words spoken by Marcius to him in private would prove no good warrant to the Achæans for refusing assistance to Appius. In this dilemma therefore he had recourse to the decree of the senate, which exempted all their allies from the necessity of submitting to any imposition from a Roman commander, unless the same imposition were authorized by express order of the conscript fathers. Appius having no such warrant, the diet referred his demand to the consul, by whom



they knew it would be opposed. And thus Polybius, by his artful management, saved to the Achæans above one hundred and twenty \* talents<sup>7</sup>.

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## CHAP. XIX.

### FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

283d Consulship.  
\* 23,250*l*.  
Arbuthnot.

*L. Æmilius Paullus chosen consul at Rome.—The report of some commissaries with regard to the state of the war in Macedon.—A negotiation between king Perses and king Eumenes ; each believing the other to be a knave, they come to no agreement.—King Perses cheats king Gentius.—The base and foolish conduct of the Macedonian towards the Bastarnæ.*

PLUTARCH reports, that the people of Rome, weary of the long continuance of the Mace-

<sup>7</sup> This year was passed at Rome the famous Voconian law, so called from Q. Voconius, the tribune who proposed it. The law enacted, that no woman should be left heiress to an estate ; and that no census should, by his will, give above a fourth part of what he was worth to a woman. By a census is meant a person rated high in the censor's book.

The same year a difference happened between the censors, T. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Claudius Pulcher, about the freedmen. These, that they might have the less sway in elections, had been confined to the four city tribes ; and Gracchus now proposed to deprive the greatest part of them entirely of the right of suffrage. But Claudius insisted that this was illegal ; and that though a censor might remove a man from one tribe to another (which was the full meaning of *tribu movere*) yet he could remove no man, much less a whole order of men, from all the five-and-thirty tribes. It was at length agreed, that all the freedmen should be incorporated in one of the city tribes ; and it fell by lot to the Esquiline tribe to receive them. *Liv. B. 45. c. 15.*

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seven.

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donian war, (in which, through the cowardice or insufficiency of their generals, they had got nothing hitherto but dishonour,) cast their eyes upon L. Æmilius Paullus, as a captain, from whose courage and abilities they might hope a speedy and fortunate issue to that enterprise.

This man, the son of that Æmilius Paullus, who perished at the battle of Cannæ, had been consul in the year 571, and had then conducted the war against the Ligurians with so much success, as to deserve the honour of a triumph. He was now near sixty years of age, but in full strength both of body and mind. Some time before this, the people had refused him a second consulship when he stood candidate for it: but in the present exigency they raised him to that dignity, even against his inclinations; and assigned him the province of Macedon without suffering him to draw lots with his colleague C. Licinius Crassus<sup>1</sup>.

Æmilius would propose nothing to the senate concerning his province, till by commissaries, sent thither to view the state of things, the strength and condition both of the Roman and Macedonian forces were perfectly known.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 20.

The commissaries at their return reported, "that the army had penetrated into Macedon, but with greater danger than benefit: that the two camps lay near each other, the river Enipeus between them: that the king avoided a

<sup>1</sup> Livy says nothing of Æmilius's reluctance to accept of the consulship; and tells us, that the province of Macedon fell to him by lot.

battle, and the Romans had not strength to force him to it: that the Macedonians were 30,000 strong; that Marcius wanted provisions; the Roman admiral, men; and, for those few that he had, wanted both money and clothes: that Appius Claudius and his army, on the frontier of Illyricum, were so far from being in a condition to invade Macedon, that they lay exposed to the danger of being cut off, if not speedily reinforced: that Eumenes and his fleet had just appeared, and then gone away; nobody could tell why: that he was wavering in his friendship to Rome, but his brother Attalus unquestionably steady."

Valerius Antias reports, that Eumenes coming to assist Marcius, in the same friendly manner as he had assisted the former consuls, was not treated with the distinction he had expected; and thereupon returned home in anger, refusing, though requested, to leave behind him his Gallo-Greek horse. Whether this were truly so, or whether the Pergamenian began, when too late, to apprehend lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would soon take hold of his own kingdom, it is certain that about this time he grew cold in his behaviour to the Romans. Perses took encouragement from it to sound him; and, finding him tractable, made an attempt to disengage him from the interest of Rome. The ambassadors whom he sent to Pergamus on this business, (but under colour of negotiating an exchange of prisoners,) were also commissioned to go to

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Livy, B. 44.  
c. 13.

Polyb. Legat. 85.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 24.



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Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, then at war with Ptolemy of Egypt. These ministers had orders to represent to Eumenes, “that there could be no real friendship between a king and a free state: that the Romans had an equal enmity to all kings, though they used the help of one king against another: that they had oppressed Philip by the help of Attalus; Antiochus the Great by the help of Philip and Eumenes; and now made use of the forces of Eumenes and Prusias to ruin Perses.” They were to exhort the Pergamenian to consider, “that the kingdom of Macedon once destroyed, his own could be no longer safe; and that the Romans already began to look with a better eye upon Prusias than upon him.” In like manner they were to admonish Antiochus, “not to expect any good conclusion of his war with the Egyptian, so long as the Romans could make him desist from the prosecution of it, by a bare declaration of their will and pleasure.” And, lastly, they were to request, of both Antiochus and Eumenes, “that they would either, by negotiation, engage the republic to make peace with the Macedonian; or, in case she persisted in so unjust a war, turn their arms against her, as against the common enemy of all kings.” What answer the Syrian gave is not recorded. Eumenes having perceived that the Romans themselves were weary of so tedious and difficult a war, and thinking it not unlikely that a peace would soon be concluded, whether he used his mediation or not, conceived

a project of drawing some pecuniary advantage to himself from the present situation of things. He offered Perses, for a thousand talents, to stand neuter; for fifteen hundred, to procure him a peace; and, in either bargain, not only to pledge his word, but to give hostages. The Macedonian approved very much the article of hostages; and readily agreed with Eumenes, that they should be sent to Crete. But as to paying the money, here he stuck. He was willing to be at some expense for a peace with Rome; but did not care to pay for it before he had it. Till the peace should be concluded, he would needs deposit the money in the temple of Samothrace. As this island belonged to Perses, Eumenes thought the money would be no nearer to him there, than if it remained in Pella; and therefore insisted upon having at least a part of it in hand. Thus the two kings (says Livy) in vain attempted to overreach one another, and got nothing but infamy for their labour.

After the like manner acted Perses with Gentius of Illyricum; with whom he had been treating before, and who had answered him in plain terms, that without money he could not stir. The Macedonian was very backward at that time to diminish his treasures; but, when the Romans had got possession of Tempe, he agreed to pay three hundred talents, which Gentius demanded as the price of his friendship; and hostages were to be delivered on both sides for performance of covenants. Gentius sent his hostages, in company with some am-

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Appian.  
Fragment.  
L. 9.

Polyb. Legat.  
76, 77.

Id. Legat.  
85.

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sulship.  
Polybius  
Legat. 87.

Id. Legat.  
86.

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Plut. Life  
of Æmil.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 27.  
App. in  
Fragment.

bassadors, to the Macedonian camp, where Perses ratified the treaty by oath, and delivered his hostages in presence of the troops, that they, being witnesses of this transaction, might be encouraged by such an accession of strength to their party. Ambassadors were presently after sent from both kings to Rhodes, to engage that republic in the confederacy. The Rhodians answered, "that they had already resolved to bring about a peace; to which they exhorted the kings to raise no unnecessary obstacles." The favourers of Perses having become the prevailing party at Rhodes, ambassadors had been sent from thence to Rome, to press the senate to cease the prosecution of the war. What reception these ministers met with we shall see hereafter.

Pantauchus, the Macedonian ambassador, had remained with Gentius, daily urging him to begin the war, especially by sea, while the Romans were unprovided of a naval strength. Ten talents of the promised money came, as earnest of the rest that was following. More followed indeed, and sealed up with the Illyrian seal, but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money reached the borders of Illyricum, Gentius had laid hands on two Roman ambassadors, under the pretence of their being spies, and thrown them into prison; which Perses no sooner heard than he recalled his treasure-bearers<sup>2</sup>, and

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, who tells us, that Perses ratified by oath the treaty with Gentius, that he gave hostages to the Illyrian ambassadors for the performance of covenants, and that he



sent them with their load to Pella: for now the Illyrian must of necessity make war with the Romans, whether he were hired to it or not.

There came about the same time, from the other side of the Danube, to the aid of Perses, 10,000 horse and 10,000 foot of the Gauls, called by Plutarch, Bastarnæ. The king, having advice of their arrival on the frontiers, sent a messenger with some inconsiderable presents to the chiefs, whom he invited to come to him, and promised to gratify with rich rewards. Clondicus, the general, immediately asked, whether Perses had sent money for the soldiers, who, according to the bargain, were to have part of their pay in hand. To this the messenger making no answer, "Why then," said Clondicus, "tell thy master that the Gauls will not stir one foot further, till they have money and hostages." Upon the report of this answer, the king took counsel; if it might be called taking counsel, to deliver his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him. He made an invective against the savage manners and perfidiousness of the Gauls; "who came in such numbers as could not but be dangerous to him and to his kingdom. Five thousand horse (he said) would be as many as he should have occasion for; and not enough to give him cause to fear them." Doubtless there wanted not employment for the whole army of Gauls; since, without any danger to the king-

sent those, who had come to take charge of the stipulated money, to Pella, there to receive it, says nothing of Gentius's being cheated of that money.

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284th Consulship.  
Plut. Life of Æmil.  
Livy, B. 44. c. 26.

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One hundred sixty-  
seven.

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sulship.

dom, they might have been sent, by the way of Perrhæbia, into Thessaly, where, ravaging the country, they would have constrained the Romans to abandon Tempe, even for want of provisions. This and much more might have been done; but Perses was a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom. In conclusion, Antigonus, one of his nobles, and the same messenger who had been with the Gauls before, was sent again to let them know the king's mind. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmuring of those many thousands that had been drawn so far from their own country to no purpose. Clondicus asked him, "Whether he had brought the money with him to pay those 5000 whom the king would take into his service." And when it was perceived, that Antigonus, for want of an answer, had recourse to shifting excuses, the Gauls, without delay, marched back towards the Danube, pillaging and wasting that part of Thrace through which they passed. Yet, barbarians as they were, they suffered the messenger of fraud to escape unhurt, which was more than he could well have expected.

Thus acted Perses, like a careful treasurer for the Romans, and as if he meant, says Livy, to preserve his money for them, without diminishing the sum<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Dio Cassius imputes this parsimonious conduct of Perses, to a confidence in his own strength, not doubting but that he should be able, without the assistance of allies, to drive the Romans out of Greece. *Dio Cass. ap. Vales. p. 611.*

## CHAP. XX.

*Gentius of Illyricum conquered by the prætor Anicius.—Æmilius Paullus arrives in Macedon, and drives the enemy from the banks of the Enipeus.—Perses defeated at the battle of Pydna.—He takes refuge in the island of Samothrace.—All Macedon submits to the Romans; and the king surrenders himself to Octavius, the Roman admiral, who sends him prisoner to the consul.*

UPON the report before mentioned of the commissaries returned from Macedon, the senate ordered into that country a large supply of men; but Æmilius was to have, in his army, only two Roman legions, of 6000 foot, and 300 horse each; and of the Italian allies 12,000 foot, and 1200 horse. What soldiers remained after completing these numbers, were to be disposed of in garrison, if fit for service; if unfit, they were to be discharged. Yet, according to Plutarch, Æmilius had in Macedon 100,000 men under his command. Cn. Octavius, the admiral of the fleet, had 5000 recruits granted him. And to the prætor L. Anicius, appointed to succeed Appius Claudius in Illyricum, was allotted an army of 20,400 foot and 1400 horse.

The consul, before his departure from Rome, made an harangue to the people. The substance of it was a reproof for the liberty they took, while ignorant of the true state of things, to censure the conduct of their generals. He said: "That, if any of them thought themselves wise enough to manage this war, he de-

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Bef. J. C.  
One hundred sixty-seven.

284th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 21.



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dred sixty-  
seven.

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sulship.

sired their company into Macedon, to assist him with their advice; that he had ships, horses, tents, and provisions ready at their service: but if they did not care to exchange the ease and indolence of a town life for the fatigues of war, they would do well to restrain their tongues; for he should not govern his actions by their caprice, nor have regard to any councils but such as were given him in the camp."

In the beginning of April, Æmilius the consul, Octavius the admiral, and Anicius the prætor, set out for their respective provinces.

App. in  
Illyr.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 31.

The success of Anicius in Illyricum was as rapid as fortunate. He brought the war to a conclusion in thirty days, and before they knew at Rome that he had begun it. Gentius, after some loss at sea, and the ready submission of some of his towns to the Romans, shut himself up in Scodra, his capital, with all his army, consisting of 15,000 men. This place being very defensible by nature, and so strongly garrisoned, and the king there in person, it could not possibly have been taken in a short time, had the defenders of it kept within their walls. But they would needs sally out and fight; in this seeming rather passionate than courageous, for they were presently routed: and though they lost but 200 men, yet such was their fright and amazement, that Gentius thought it advisable to ask of the prætor a truce, in order, as he said, to deliberate concerning the state of his affairs. Three days being granted him, he employed this time in inquiring after his brother Cara-

vantius, whom he had commissioned to raise forces, and who was reported to be approaching to his rescue. Finding the rumour groundless, and having asked and obtained of the prætor permission to come to him, he threw himself at his feet, lamented with tears his past folly, and yielded himself, together with his wife and children, at discretion: after which the whole kingdom presently submitted. Anicius dispatched Perperna (one of the ambassadors whom Gentius had imprisoned) with the news of all these events to Rome.

ÆMILIUS PAULLUS, having set sail from Brundisium at break of day, arrived at Corcyra before night. Thence in five days he reached Delphi; where he sacrificed to Apollo. In five days more he joined the army at Phila, not far from the Enipeus.

Perses, after taking the best measure he could to hinder a descent from the Roman fleet on the coast, spared no labour to fortify his bank of the Enipeus; so that the consul had little hope to force him in his camp, and enter Macedon that way<sup>1</sup>. On inquiry he learned, that

<sup>1</sup> About this time the consul introduced some new regulations in the Roman discipline. The word of command used to be given aloud at the head of the legions to all the soldiers, but Æmilius now ordered the tribune of the nearest legion to give it in a low voice to his primipile, who was to transmit it to the next centurion, and thus it was to be conveyed from one to another, till it had gone through the whole army. And whereas it had been the custom for the guards to stand from morning to night in their posts, without being relieved, the consul altered this method, ordering them to be changed at noon. And

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Livy, B. 45.  
c. 41.  
Plut. Life  
of Æmil.  
App. in  
Fragment.  
Livy, B. 44.  
c. 32.

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there was a passage over mount Olympus, and by Pythium; the road not bad, but blocked up by a body of troops which the king had placed there. To force this guard, Æmilius chose out 5000 men, whom he committed to the conduct of Scipio Nasica, his son-in-law, and Q. Fabius, his own son by nature, but adopted into the Fabian family. In order to conceal the design, they took the way to Heracleum, as if they were going to embark on board the fleet. From Heracleum they directed their march to Pythium, dividing the journey so as to arrive there the third day before it was light. In the mornings of those two days, when they were passing the mountain, Æmilius, that he might fix the king's attention on something present, detached a part of his velites to attack the advanced guard of the Macedonians. The channel of the Enipeus, which received in winter a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceedingly deep and broad, and the ground of it such, as though at present it lay almost quite dry, yet it afforded no good footing for heavy armed troops. It was for this reason Æmilius employed only his velites, of whom the king's light armed soldiers had the advantage in a distant fight, though the Romans were better armed for close engagement. The engines from the towers, which Perses had raised on his own bank, played also upon the Romans,

because they often fell asleep, leaning upon their shields, he commanded that for the future they should go upon guard without a shield. *Liv. B. 44. c. 23.*



and did considerable execution. Yet Æmilius renewed his assault the second day; when he suffered yet a greater loss than the first. The third day he made a motion as if he meant to attempt a passage over the river nearer the sea. In the mean time, the king's camp became, on a sudden, full of tumult and confusion. Scipio and Fabius, (according to Polybius) had surprised the Macedonian guard upon the mountain asleep, and slain most of them; the rest with all speed fled to the army, with the news, that the Romans had passed the mountain, and were at their backs. The king instantly broke up his camp, and made a hasty retreat to Pydna<sup>2</sup>. Thus was a passage once more opened into Macedon; an advantage which Æmilius did not, like his predecessor Marcius, neglect to improve.

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Polyb. ap  
Plut.

Perses could not determine for a while what course to take; whether to distribute his troops into the fortified towns, and so to protract the war; or to put all at once to the hazard of a battle. Seeing his men in good heart, and eager to fight, he at length resolved to venture a general action. He chose therefore a place near the walls of Pydna, commodious for the phalanx, and on each side of which were some high grounds, fit for the archers and light armed troops. A river covered the whole front; and this river, though shallow, and of little breadth, must in some measure break the order of the

Plut. Life of  
Æmilius.

<sup>2</sup> This account differs in some circumstances from Plutarch's.

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Livy, B. 44.  
c. 36.

Romans in advancing to him. It was not long before the enemy appeared. He offered them battle; which the Roman soldiers would gladly have accepted the instant they arrived: but Æmilius, knowing that they were fatigued with their march, did not think it advisable to come to an engagement till they had taken some rest. Yet, that he might seemingly yield to the ardour of his men, he began to draw them up as for battle, directing the tribunes to repair each to his post. As the day advanced, and the sun grew hotter, the countenances of the soldiers appeared less animated, their voices sunk, and some of the men were seen leaning on their shields and javelins for weariness. The consul hereupon ordered a camp to be marked out. His chief officers, though dissatisfied with this change (as they thought it) of his design, yet remained silent. But young Scipio, whose late success on mount Olympus gave him confidence, took the liberty to remonstrate, begging him not to lose his opportunity by delay. Æmilius told him, he spoke like a young man, and bade him have patience. This said, he commanded the troops in the front of his army to remain in their order, while those in the rear formed a camp, and entrenched it: which finished, the whole army at leisure fell back into it, without any confusion or molestation from the enemy.

The next day many in each army blamed their generals for not having fought the day before. Perses excused himself by the back-

wardness of the enemy, who did not advance, but kept upon ground very inconvenient for the phalanx. On the other side, the consul, who had his reasons before mentioned, communicated them to those about him.

In the evening of that day (which, by the Roman account, was the third of September) C. Sulpicius Gallus, a legionary tribune, foretold to Æmilius, and, with his approbation, to the army, an eclipse of the moon which would happen the same night; admonishing the soldiers not to be terrified, it being a natural event, which might be known long before the time. The Romans (according to their custom) while the eclipse lasted, beat pans of brass and basons, as we do in following a swarm of bees; thinking that thereby they helped the moon in her labour. On the other side the Macedonians howled and made a great noise, and this doubtless because it was their custom, and not because they were frightened at the eclipse, as with a prodigy that foreboded any mischief to them; since it did not in the least diminish their ardour for the fight. Æmilius, though not so ignorant concerning this phenomenon as to imagine it any thing supernatural, yet, being very religious, could not refrain from doing his duty to the moon, and, by a sacrifice of eleven young bulls, as soon as she shone out bright again, congratulating with her on her delivery. And early the next morning, when he had given the signal to prepare for battle, he sacrificed to Hercules twenty oxen successively, before any good omens could

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Livy, B. 44.  
c. 40.

be found in the entrails. At length, in the belly of the one-and-twentieth ox, was found a promise of victory to the Romans, but conditionally that they acted only on the defensive<sup>3</sup>.

About three in the afternoon, when there was no likelihood of a battle, Perses keeping his ground, and Æmilius having sent abroad a part of his men for wood and forage, an accident brought that to pass, of which neither of the generals seemed very desirous. A horse belonging to a Roman broke loose, and ran into the river, whither two or three of the soldiers followed him : eight hundred Thracians lay on

<sup>3</sup> Sir W. R. pleasantly says, “ that Hercules was a Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonian than the Roman. That therefore it had been better to call upon the new goddess lately canonized at Alabanda, or upon Romulus, or (if a god of older date were more authentic) upon Mars, the father of Romulus, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs, and who therefore would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.”

One of the most distinguishing parts of Æmilius’s character was circumspection and caution, which he had inherited from his father, a disciple of Fabius Cunctator. And though Sir W. R. blames Æmilius on this occasion, as vainly consuming a great part of the day, in the sacrifices above mentioned ; yet, considering the advantage which Perses had of the ground, it is not improbable, that the consul had better reasons than any he found in the ox’s belly, for desiring that the king should quit his post, and be the assailant. Plutarch speaks of the morning sun being full in the faces of the Romans, as a reason for Æmilius’s deferring the battle till the afternoon. But it appears from Livy, that the consul had no intention to fight, even when the sun favoured him.

the further bank, whence two of them ran into the water to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows with the Romans, as in a private quarrel, and one of the Thracians was slain. Some of his countrymen hasted to revenge their fellow's death, and followed over the river those that had slain him. Hereupon assistance came in on each part, till the number grew such as made it past a fray, and caused the generals of both armies to be anxious about the event. Perses and Æmilius drew up their men in order of battle; and, to elevate their courage, employed all the arguments which the importance of the occasion suggested. But the king having finished his oration, and ordered his men to the charge, withdrew himself into Pydna; there to offer a sacrifice to Hercules: as if Hercules, says Plutarch, could like the sacrifice of a coward; or would grant victory to him that would not fight<sup>4</sup>.

It is impossible to form any satisfactory notion of this battle, in its detail, from the imperfect accounts of it in Livy and Plutarch. We read that the Macedonian cavalry quickly fled out of the field; that nevertheless the phalanx pressed on so resolutely as to bear down all that opposed it, insomuch that Æmilius was

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<sup>4</sup> One Posidonius (an historian quoted by Plutarch) says, that he was present at this battle, and reports, that Perses, though hurt the day before in the leg by a kick of a horse, did nevertheless, and contrary to the pressing instances of his friends, lead his phalanx to the charge, and that he continued at their head till he was wounded in the side by a javelin.

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astonished and terrified, and rent his clothes for grief. What gave him the victory was the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of the phalanx's preserving its order for any considerable time. For while some of the Roman battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoiled from it, it was necessary, if the Macedonians would follow those that gave ground, that some files should advance beyond the rest. Æmilius, when he saw the front of the enemy's battle become unequal (by reason of the unequal resistance which they met with) and the ranks in some places open, divided his men into small battalions, ordering them to throw themselves into the void spaces, and charge the phalangites in flank. The long pikes of the Macedonians by this means became useless : and, with only their weak swords and targets, they were by no means a match for the Roman legionaries, who had strong swords, and whose shields covered them almost from head to foot. There soon followed a total rout of the Macedonian infantry. More than 20,000 of them are said to be slain, and 5000 taken prisoners. It is also said, that the Romans did not lose above a hundred men; a tale not very consistent with what is related of the exploits of the Macedonian phalanx.

Plut. Life of  
Æmil.

Perses fled from Pydna towards Pella, attended by a great number of his horse. Some of the foot which had escaped from the slaughter overtook the king and his company in a wood, where they fell to railing at the horsemen, calling



them cowards, traitors, and other such names, till at length they came to blows<sup>5</sup>. The king, fearing lest they should turn their wrath against him, suddenly left the high road. A few followed him: the rest dispersed themselves, and went every one whither his inclinations guided him. Of those that kept with their king the number began in a short time to lessen: for he fell to devising upon whom to lay the blame of that day's misfortune; which caused those that knew his nature to shrink away from him under various pretences. At his coming to Pella about midnight, he found his pages, and Euctus<sup>6</sup> the governor of the town, ready to attend him; but of his great men that had escaped from the battle, though he often sent for them, not one would come near him. Fearing lest they, who had the boldness to disobey his summons, would dare something worse, he stole out of Pella before morning. There went with him only Evander (the Cretan formerly employed to kill Eumenes at Delphi) and two other companions of his flight from Pydna. The third day after the battle Perses came to Amphipolis, where having several times attempted to make a speech to the people, and having as often been hindered by his tears from proceeding, he appointed Evander to speak in his

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Livy, B. 44.  
c. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Livy says nothing of the foot having overtaken the horsemen, or of the quarrel between them; or that the king blamed any body for the loss of the battle.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch says, that Perses stabbed with his own hand this Euctus, and one Edcus, for telling him of his faults, and giving him advice with too much freedom.

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name what he himself had intended to say. The Amphipolitans, upon the first rumour of the king's defeat, had emptied their town of 2000 Thracians that lay there in garrison, sending them out, under colour of an expedition that was to make them rich, and then shutting the gates after them. And now to rid themselves of the king, some of the citizens cried out while Evander was speaking, "Hence; depart; must we be ruined upon your account?" Perses therefore put his family, his treasures, and 500 Cretans, on board some vessels which were in the river Strymon, and embarking with them, followed the course of the stream. These Cretans are said to have repaired to him, not out of any affection to his person, or his cause, but to his money, of which they hoped to share<sup>7</sup>. The king, knowing their wishes and views, caused some gold and silver cups and vases, to the value of fifty talents\*, to be laid on the shore, as a booty for which they might scramble. He would not make the distribution himself, for fear of disobliging some of them. When the Cretans had loaded themselves with these riches, the little fleet sailed to Galepsos, a maritime town between the mouths of the Strymon and the Hebrus. But now Perses, repenting of his liberality, pretended to the Cretans, that among the cups and vases, there had been put, by mistake, some which Alexander the Great had

\* 9687*l*.  
10*s*. Ar-  
buthnot.

Plut. Life of  
Æmil.

<sup>7</sup> This may be true, yet it seems natural, that, without this allurements, they should adhere to Evander, their countryman and general, who continued about the king.

made use of; for whose memory he had so high a respect, that it grieved him, he said, to part with the least thing that had belonged to that hero; and he offered to redeem them with more than they were intrinsically worth. Many of the Cretans, imposed upon by this declaration, brought back their urns and vases. The king passed into Samothrace, and spoke no more of the money. By this base artifice he recovered about thirty talents<sup>8</sup>.

Samothrace was an island consecrated to Cybele the mother of the gods. According to tradition, she had formerly dwelt in it, on which account it was held sacred by all nations. Perses, hoping that the Romans would not profane this sanctuary by staining it with his blood, chose to retire thither with his family and the remains of his dear treasure (which still amounted to about 2000 talents\*) and he took up his habitation in a place adjoining to the temple of Castor and Pollux.

It is somewhat singular, that a king whose arms had prospered for three years together, should, after the loss of only one battle, be so deserted by all his subjects, and reduced to such miserable shifts: and it renders credible, in some degree, what the historians have related of his monstrous falsehood, avarice, and pusillanimity, in the latter part of his reign. The whole kingdom fell into the power of Æmilius in a few days after his victory. Hippias, who

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\* 387,500*l*.  
Arbuthnot.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 45, 46.

<sup>8</sup> Livy makes no mention of this cheat.



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had kept the pass near the lake Ascuris against Marcius; Pentauchus, who had been sent ambassador to Gentius; and Milo; another of the king's principal officers, were the first that came in, yielding themselves and the town of Berœa, whither they had retired out of the battle. With messages to the like effect came others from Thessalonica, from Pella, and most of the towns of Macedon, within two days. Pydna held out a day or two longer. About 6000 soldiers of divers nations having fled out of the battle into that town, this confused rabble of strangers hindered the townsmen from coming immediately to any determination. Milo and Pantauchus, by the direction of Æmilius, went thither to parley with the commander of the garrison. It was agreed, that the soldiers should yield themselves prisoners of war, and that the Roman army should have the plunder of the city. After this, Æmilius marched to Pella, where, of the king's treasure, he found no more than 300 talents [Livy should have said 290:] the same of which the Macedonian had lately defrauded Gentius.

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 4. et seq.

The report that Perses had taken refuge in Samothrace, was soon confirmed by his own letters to the consul. He had sent these letters by persons of such mean condition, that Æmilius is said to have wept with compassion for a king so fallen as to have no servants of better rank to employ in this commission. But though Perses had written in the style of a suppliant, and not of a king, yet, because the in-

scription of his epistle was, "King Perses to the consul Paullus," his folly, says Livy, in retaining the title of king, when he had lost his kingdom, extinguished all the consul's pity, so that he would return him no answer either by word or writing. The Macedonian now felt the whole weight of his calamity; he wrote again, omitting the word king in the superscription, and desiring Æmilius to send to him some persons with whom he might confer about his present condition. Three went to him from the consul, but effected nothing; they insisting, that Perses should yield himself at discretion; and he refusing to part with the title of king. It was perhaps the hope of being able to compound with his enemies, and purchase of them the permission to live in quiet, and retain the title of king, that had made him so carefully preserve his treasures, and retire with them to Samothrace: imagining that the Romans would neither violate a sanctuary, nor yet neglect the riches in his possession.

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Presently after arrived at that island, with the Roman fleet, C. Octavius, who had been ordered thither by the consul. Octavius endeavoured, as well by threats as by fair words, to make the king leave his retreat. All proving ineffectual, a young Roman, named Atilius, moved a question to the Samothracians; "How they came to pollute their island (which they held to be sacred,) by receiving, even into their sanctuary, a man stained with the blood of king Eumenes, whom he wounded and endeavoured

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to murder, in the holy precincts of the temple at Delphi?" As they were now absolutely in the power of the Romans, this question caused no small perplexity and fear. They signified to the king, that Evander, who lived with him, was accused of a sacrilegious crime, of which he must either clear himself, upon a fair trial; or, if through guilt he durst not stand a trial, must cease to profane a holy place, and leave it immediately. The king himself was not charged in this message; yet, what would that avail him, if the instrument of the fact, being brought into judgment, should impeach the author? Perses therefore exhorted the Cretan, by no means to stand a trial, in which neither favour nor justice could be expected; adding, that the best thing he could do was bravely to kill himself. Evander seemed to approve the advice; but said, he had rather die by poison than the sword; and, under colour of preparing poison, he prepared to escape. The king, suspecting his intention, found means to get him murdered; and then, to avoid the charge of having polluted the holy place, he bribed the chief magistrate of Samothrace to publish, that the Cretan had killed himself. This monstrous proceeding of Perses, towards so constant a follower of his fortunes, drove almost every body from him, except his wife, his children, and his pages. Thus deserted, he turned his thoughts to make an escape, and fly with his treasures to king Cotys of Thrace, his good friend and ally. Oroandes, a Cretan, who lay at Samo-



thrace with one ship, was easily persuaded to undertake the affair. The dear treasure (as much of it as could be so conveyed) Perses caused secretly to be carried on board by night: after which, having got out at a window, with his wife and his elder son Philip<sup>9</sup>, they passed through a garden, and over a wall, and thence to the sea-side. No ship was there. Oroandes had sailed away with the money. Perses wandered some time on the shore, undetermined what course to take. It grew towards day: fearing therefore to be discovered and intercepted, he made all haste back to his asylum.

Octavius published a proclamation, importing, that all the Macedonians, who yet attended their master in Samothrace, should have their lives and liberty, with whatever estate or effects they had, either in the island or in Macedon, provided they immediately yielded themselves to the Romans. Hereupon the pages, who were the sons of the chief nobles, and who had hitherto constantly kept with the king, surrendered themselves to the prætor. Ion also, a Thessalonian, to whom Perses had committed the care of his younger children, delivered them up. Lastly, the king, now destitute of all support, and accusing the gods of Samothrace, that had no better protected him, gave himself up, with his son Philip, to Octavius, who sent them

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<sup>9</sup> This elder son is said by Livy to have been the king's brother by nature, and his son only by adoption.

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away to Æmilius: and thus the Roman victory was complete <sup>10</sup>.

Perses entered the camp in a mourning habit; and when he came into the consul's tent, would have thrown himself at his feet; a behaviour so base and abject, that Æmilius thought it dishonoured his victory. Having made the king sit down, he expostulated with him, in gentle words, on his having, so unjustly and with so hostile a mind, made war upon the Romans <sup>11</sup>. To this a prince of more spirit would not have wanted an answer. Perses said nothing. The consul went on: "However these things have happened, whether through mistake, to which every man is liable, or by chance, or by the inevitable decrees of fate; take courage: the clemency of the Roman people, which so many kings and nations have ex-

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 41.  
Plut. Life  
of Paull.  
Appian.  
Fragm.

<sup>10</sup> Æmilius Paullus is (by Livy and others) made to boast in a speech to the people, that he finished the war against Perses in fifteen days. This is absolutely unintelligible, unless he reckons from the battle of Pydna, or the action upon the Enipeus; for no circumstances of the whole story are better, if so well, authorized, than his leaving Rome the first of April to go to the army, his arrival in the camp the eleventh day after sailing from Brundisium, and his fighting the battle of Pydna on the fourth of September.

Petavius says it is evident, from the eclipse which happened the night before this battle, that it was fought in the year before Christ 168. *Rationar. Temp. P. II. B. 2. c. 14.*

<sup>11</sup> So outrageous an insult upon wretchedness, as Æmilius is guilty of in this lying expostulation, is hardly to be paralleled.

perienced in adversity, affords you, not only a hope, but almost an assurance of life." He then gave the king in custody to Ælius Tubero, who was the consul's son-in-law.

Thus ended the Macedonian war (which had lasted four years) and with it the Macedonian monarchy, after it had continued in splendour 193 years, reckoning only from Philip, the father of Alexander the Great <sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> The Roman state, by the entire conquest of Macedon, became exalted to the pitch of an irresistible power. Sir Walter Raleigh, finishing that part, which he has left us, of the History of the World, with this conquest, makes use of a beautiful similitude to express the prosperous condition and high fortune of the Romans at that period, and likewise the future fate, the decline, and total ruin of their empire.

"By this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first monarchies of the world.—That of ROME, which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field, having rooted up or cut down all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field, and cut her down." *Sir W. R. in fine.*



## CHAP. XXI.

*The ill reception of the Rhodian ambassadors at Rome.—Antiochus Epiphanes haughtily treated by a Roman ambassador.—Compliments to the senate from Antiochus, the Ptolemies of Egypt, and Masinissa.—The prætor Anicius reduces the Epirots; and, in conjunction with five commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Illyricum.—Æmilius Paullus, assisted by ten commissioners, settles the affairs of Macedon.—Their conduct with regard to the Ætolians, Achæans, and other Greeks.—Æmilius frames a body of laws for the Macedonians. His cruelty to the Epirots. He with difficulty obtains a triumph at Rome.—The death of Perses.—The Romans restore to Cotys his captive son.*

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IT is needless to say any thing of the joy at Rome upon the news of the victory at Pydna. The Romans began now to look with a haughty and menacing eye upon all those of their allies whose behaviour had displeased them during the war of Macedon.

The republic of Rhodes (as was before observed \*) had arrogantly undertaken to put an end to the war between Perses and the Romans. At what time soever her ambassadors came to Rome on this affair (for the time is uncertain) they had not their audience till after the news of Æmilius's victory <sup>1</sup>. The senate, who knew

\* See p. 414.

<sup>1</sup> Livy having before related (B. 44, c. 14.) that these very ambassadors had been admitted to audience in the consulship of Marcius, and had then spoken arrogantly and in threatening terms to the senate, now tells us, that, according to some authors, these ministers had no audience till after the battle of Pydna. That this last account is

upon what business these ministers had been sent, maliciously called for them now, and bid them perform their commission. Agesipolis, chief of the embassy, said, "That they had come in the view of mediating a peace, believing that the war was extremely burdensome to the Greeks in general, and, on account of the expenses that attended it, even to the Romans themselves. But since it was now brought to that conclusion which the Rhodians had always wished, they congratulated with the senate and people of Rome on so happy an event." To which the fathers answered, "That the Rhodians had not sent this embassy, from any regard to the welfare of Greece, or from affection to the Roman people; but for the service of Perses. For, had they studied the good of Greece, they would have offered their mediation when Perses had his camp in Thessaly, and, for two years together, ravaged the lands of the Greeks. But as the mediating scheme was not thought of till the Roman army had entered Macedon, and Perses had small hopes to escape, it plainly showed, that the only view of the Rhodian republic was, as much as in

true, may be gathered from Polybius, who had a share in the transactions of those times. He tells us, that the Rhodians indeed sent ambassadors to Rome, in the consulship of Marcius; but that their business was to renew their friendship with the Romans, to vindicate Rhodes from the charge of disaffection to Rome, and to ask leave to export a certain quantity of corn from Sicily. He adds, that they were very graciously received, and civilly dismissed. *Legat.* 80, 86, 88, and 93.

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Livy, B. 45.  
c. 3.  
Polybius,  
Legat. 88.

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her lay, to rescue the Macedonian out of his danger. Her ambassadors therefore had no title to be received by the senate as friends, or to expect a friendly answer."

How excessively the Roman pride was swelled by their conquest of Macedon, we have a remarkable proof in what passed, about this time, between their ambassador and the king of Syria.

Strabo. B.  
16. p. 744.

After the death of Antiochus, surnamed the Great (who was killed by the people of Elymais, for plundering the temple of Jupiter Belus in their country) his son, Seleucus Philopator, succeeded him in the throne. Seleucus sent for his younger brother Antiochus, who had been a hostage at Rome ever since the conclusion of the peace between his father and the republic; and gave in exchange for him his own son Demetrius. Before Antiochus arrived in Syria, Seleucus was poisoned, and the kingdom usurped by Heliodorus, the treasurer. Nevertheless, by the assistance of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Antiochus expelled the usurper, and seated himself in the throne, assuming the surname of Epiphanes (or the Illustrious). He entered into a war against his nephew Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, about Cœle-Syria and Palestine; vanquished the Egyptians in two battles; and took Philometor prisoner. Hereupon the Alexandrians declared Ptolemy Euergetes or Physcon, king, in the room of his elder brother. The Syrian, under pretence of restoring the latter to his kingdom, renewed

App. in  
Syr. p. 116.

Polyb. Le-  
gat. 7.2. et  
82.

Hieronym.  
in Dan. c.

11. ap.  
Prideaux.

Livy, B. 44.  
c. 19.



the war against the Egyptians, defeated them in a sea-fight, took Pelusium, and laid siege to Alexandria, where Physcon had shut himself up with his sister Cleopatra. These applied to the senate for relief; and the conscript fathers, not thinking it for the interest of the republic that Antiochus should annex Egypt to his dominions, dispatched ambassadors to put an end to the war between the two kings. C. Popillius Lænas, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius, the persons commissioned on this affair, had orders to address themselves first to Antiochus, and then to Ptolemy, signifying to each, that if he persisted in carrying on the war, the people of Rome would hold him for their enemy. In the meantime, as the Syrian found it difficult to reduce Alexandria, in its present strength, and hoped that he should succeed better in his designs when the brothers were weakened by the continuation of the war between themselves, he returned home; leaving Philometor in possession of Memphis and all Egypt, except Alexandria and Pelusium. This last town he kept in his own hands, that he might enter the country when he pleased. The brothers perceived the ambitious views of the Syrian; to disappoint which they came to an accommodation, by the good offices of their sister Cleopatra, and agreed to reign jointly. Antiochus, vexed to see his projects disconcerted, resolved now to make war upon both the brothers. In pursuance of this resolution, he sent a fleet to Cyprus, and marched with his land army to-

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Livy, B. 45.  
c. 11.

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wards Egypt. At his coming to Rhinocolura, ambassadors met him from Ptolemy the elder, to entreat him that he would not destroy his own work, but suffer their master quietly to wear the crown he owed to his friendship. The Syrian answered, that he would neither draw off his fleet nor his army, unless Cyprus, Pelusium, and all the land on that branch of the Nile where Pelusium stood, were yielded to him in perpetuity. These conditions being rejected, Antiochus by force of arms subdued all Egypt, except Alexandria. He was on his march to besiege this city, and within four miles of it, when the Roman ambassadors (who, having passed through Greece and Asia, had been several months in their journey) came up to him. The Syrian, while a hostage at Rome, had contracted a friendship with Popillius, the chief of the embassy, and therefore immediately offered him his hand. But the Roman, instead of accepting the civility, put into the king's hand a writing, which contained the senate's decree; and bid him read that. Antiochus read it; and then said, "he would consult with his friends." Instantly Popillius, with a vine twig, drew a circle round the king: "Your answer," said the ambassador, "before you go out of this circle." Antiochus<sup>2</sup>, stunned at

<sup>1</sup> Maccab.  
c. i. Joseph.  
Antiq. B.  
12.

<sup>2</sup> It was this Antiochus who pillaged Jerusalem, filled the streets with dead bodies and the temple with profanations: a memorable event which the prophet Daniel\* had foretold.

\* Dan xi. 31.

the imperiousness of the command, hesitated for some moments; after which he replied, "The senate shall be obeyed." He would hardly have been so submissive (says Polybius) had he not received advice of Æmilius's victory over Perses. And it may be worth observing, that this haughty Popillius was the man who, when the Roman affairs went ill in Macedon, employed such soft and gentle words to the Achæans and Ætolians. Nor did Antiochus, during that war, pay any regard to the mediation of the Romans, who had sent ambassadors to terminate the war between him and Ptolemy. But times were changed; and the Syrian now most obsequiously withdrew his fleet and army, and went back into his own country.

Popillius and his colleagues having sent away Antiochus, and established a peace between the two Ptolemies, left Egypt, and returned to Rome. They were followed thither by ambassadors from Syria and Egypt. The Syrians, on the part of their king, assured the conscript fathers, "That he preferred a peace, that was agreeable to the senate, before any victory; that he had obeyed the orders of their ambassadors, as if they had been the command of the gods; that he congratulated the Romans on their victory over Perses; and that, had they required it of him, he would have zealously assisted them in the war." The senate answered, "That Antiochus had done well in obeying the ambassadors, and that his conduct herein was very agreeable to the republic." Then the Egyptian ministers,

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Polyb. Legat. 92.

Legat. 91.

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 12.



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and, after them Masgaba, the son of Masinissa, had audience of the fathers. Their speeches were such, as if they had vied one with another, which should flatter the Romans most. The Egyptians said, “ That the two kings and Cleopatra thought themselves more indebted to the senate and people of Rome, than to their parents, or even the immortal gods.” And as for Masgaba, he truly, on the part of his father, (having first reckoned all the horse, foot, elephants, and corn, he had sent into Macedon in four years past) “ was overwhelmed with confusion on two accounts; the one, that the senate, to have these supplies, had employed a request, and not a command; the other, that they had sent money for the corn.” He added, “ Masinissa never forgets that he owes his kingdom and all its augmentations to you : he indeed, by your favour, enjoys the revenues of it, but always considers you as the proprietors and lords of Numidia. This, at my departure, he instructed me to say. Having afterwards heard of your victory over Perses, he dispatched some horsemen after me, to bid me assure you that he was overjoyed at your success; and beg that you would permit him to come to Rome, if he should not be troublesome, and offer, in thanksgiving, a sacrifice to Jupiter in the capitol.” The substance of the senate’s answer was, “ that the Romans had done Masinissa the favours he mentioned; that he had deserved them; and that he was a very grateful and a very honest man. As to his journey, they said,

it would be sufficient if he thanked God at home; his son might do it for him at Rome."

Q. Ælius Pætus and M. Junius Pennus were raised to the consulate. But the senate continued Æmilius in his command in Macedon, as proconsul; and Anicius and Octavius in their respective provinces as proprætors. They also appointed ten commissioners to regulate the affairs of Macedon, and five to settle those of Illyricum, in concert with the two generals.

Anicius, before these commissioners arrived, marched with part of his army into Epirus. All the country immediately submitted to him, except four towns, Passaron, Tecmon, Phylax, and Horreum; and not one of these stood a siege. Two men, Antinous and Theodotus, who, in concert with Cephalus, had brought about the defection of the Epirots, and who despaired of pardon, would have persuaded the inhabitants of Passaron to hold out against the Romans, and prefer death to slavery: but the counsel of a certain young citizen of rank, who advised them to open their gates, had more weight with the multitude. Antinous, and his friend, seeing themselves thus deserted, rushed out of the town, attacked a Roman guard, and there found the death they sought. Cephalus, who had engaged the people of Tecmon to shut their gates, being also slain, both these towns surrendered to the proprætor; and their example was soon followed by Phylax and Horreum.

The reduction of Epirus being thus com-

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Livy, B. 45.  
c. 16.

c. 26.

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pleted, Anicius distributed his troops into winter quarters, and returned to Scodra in Illyricum. Here he found the five commissioners from Rome; with whom having consulted, he called an assembly of the principal men of the country, and, in conformity to a decree of the conscript fathers, declared, "that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians: that the Roman garrisons should be withdrawn from all the towns, fortresses, and castles in the country: that those of the Illyrian towns which, before or during the war with Gentius, had come over to the Romans, should be exempted from all taxes; the rest pay but a moiety of what they had used to pay to their kings." Illyricum was then divided into three parts, independent of each other.

During these transactions Æmilius was making a tour of pleasure, and visiting all the famous cities of Greece: he would not, any where, inquire into the dispositions of the inhabitants with regard to Perses, that he might give them no alarm. Soon after his return from this excursion, he proceeded to business; the ten commissioners, who were to assist him in settling the affairs of Macedon, being arrived. He had ordered ten of the principal men out of each city of the kingdom, to attend him on a certain day at Amphipolis, bringing with them all the public registers, and the king's money. When this day came, he ascended the tribunal with the Roman commissioners, and, having caused silence to be made, pronounced, in Latin, to the

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 29.



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assembly, what had been determined by the senate of Rome and the council present, in relation to Macedon. The prætor Octavius afterwards explained to them the whole in Greek. It was to this effect: "All the Macedonians shall be free, and enjoy their cities, lands, and laws<sup>3</sup>, and create annual magistrates. They shall pay to the Roman republic half the tribute they formerly paid their kings. Macedon shall be divided into four cantons, of which Amphipolis, Pella, Thessalonica, and Pelagonia, shall be the capitals. In these chief cities shall be held the particular diets of each canton; and there the magistrates shall be elected, and the tribute money paid. No person shall be suffered to marry, or to purchase lands or houses, out of his own canton. No Macedonian shall be suffered to work in gold or silver mines; but they may in those of copper and iron."

The article of choosing their own magistrates, and that of paying but half their former tribute, were some consolation to the Macedonians; but did not compensate them for separating the members of the national body, and thereby depriving each member of all assistance from the rest. Livy says, the Macedonians themselves

<sup>3</sup> When Livy says laws, he must mean the bye-laws of the several cities or communities; for we find that Æmilius made a body of laws for the government of the whole: if it be not rather true that, in promising them that they should retain their own laws, he acted, as in other parts of his conduct, without the least regard to truth or humanity.

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Livy, B. 45.  
c. 28.

were not aware how contemptible each part became by this division.

Æmilius, in his return from his tour of pleasure, had been met by a crowd of Ætolians in mourning, who came to make heavy complaints to him. Lyciscus and Tisippus, two of their countrymen, whom their credit with the Romans rendered all powerful in Ætolia, had, with a body of soldiers, lent them by Bæbius, surrounded the diet, and massacred 550 of the principal men of the nation, banished others, and given the estates, both of the murdered and the exiled, to their accusers<sup>4</sup>. The proconsul had deferred his answer to these complainants, and bid them meet him at Amphipolis. He now, in conjunction with the commissioners, examined into the affair. But the only inquiry was, Who had favoured Perses, and who the Romans; not who had done, or who had suffered wrong. The murderers were consequently acquitted of all injustice, and the banishment of the exiles confirmed. Only Bæbius was condemned for having employed Roman soldiers in the massacre.

Sir W. R.

Whatever might be said to palliate the cruelty of the Roman proceedings, in regard to those nations that had been conquered by them, certainly their behaviour towards the Greeks, that

<sup>4</sup> Lyciscus had been instrumental in disappointing Perses of his hopes, when, during the war, he made a journey into Ætolia, as has been mentioned, p. 396; and the men, on whom this massacre was committed, were probably those who had invited Perses thither.

were not subjects to Rome, could deserve no better name than mere tyranny and shameless perjury. The Greeks, during the war, had been divided into three parties, which we may call by the names of the Romanists, the Perseites, and the Patriots; which last had nothing at heart but the preservation of the laws and liberty of their country. The two former may properly be styled factions; because, as Livy tells us, they acted upon views only of private interest. Since the defeat of Perses, the Romanists had every where got possession of all offices and honours; and these men employed their credit with the Romans to ruin both the Patriots and the Perseites. Coming in great numbers to Æmilius, they gave information against the open and secret enemies of Rome; by the latter, meaning the Patriots. The proconsul, by his mandates, summoned, from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, all those whose names had been given in to him; and ordered them to follow him to Rome, there to be tried.

With regard to the Achæans\*, Æmilius and the other ten tyrants proceeded with more form. Callicrates, that traitor to his country before mentioned, had given in a list of all those of his countrymen whom he had a mind to destroy; but it was not judged advisable to summon these by letter; because the Achæans, having more spirit than the other Greeks, might possibly not obey; and perhaps they might

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\* See p. 344.



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Pausan. in  
Achaic. c.  
10.

massacre Callicrates and his adherents. Besides, though the commissioners had, among the king of Macedon's papers, found letters from the leading men of the other states; yet they had found none from any Achæan. They deputed therefore two of their own body, C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius, to negotiate with the Achæan diet. One of these deputies, having first complained in the assembly, that some of the chief among them had, with money and other means, befriended Perses, modestly desired that all such men might be condemned to death; whom, after sentence given, he would name to them. "After sentence given, (cried out the whole assembly) what justice is this? Name them first, and let them answer. If they cannot clear themselves, we shall quickly condemn them." Then said the Roman impudently, "All your prætors, as many as have led your armies, are guilty of this crime." "If this be true," answered Xeno, (a man of temper, and confident in his innocence,) "then have I also been a friend to Perses, for I have commanded the Achæan army. But if any one accuse me, I am ready to answer him, either here immediately, or before the senate at Rome." The Roman, laying hold of these words, replied, "You say right: that will be the best way. Do you, with all the rest, clear yourselves at Rome before the senate." Then, by an edict, he ordered above a thousand of the principal Achæans, there named, to be carried to Rome:

a proceeding unprecedented, and more tyrannical than any thing done by Philip of Macedon, or his son Alexander the Great. Those princes, all-powerful as they were, never thought of summoning their enemies, among the Greeks, to come to Macedon to be tried; but left the judgment of such matters to the council of the Amphycions.

This may be justly termed the captivity of Greece, so many of the worthiest men being torn from their native homes, for no other cause but their love to their country, and for being Grecians in Greece; though the Romans held it the greatest of crimes for a member of their republic not to be a Roman. At the coming of the accused to Rome, the senate, without hearing them, and under pretence that they had been already condemned by their own countrymen, dispersed them into several cities of Hetruria, there to be held in custody. Frequent embassies were sent from Achaia to remonstrate to the senate that these men had not been condemned by the Achæans; and to beg that the fathers would either take cognizance of the cause themselves, or send the captives to be tried at home, where strict justice should be done. The senate answered, "that they thought it not for the interest of Achaia that those men should return thither." Neither could any solicitation of the Achæans, who never ceased to importune the senate for the liberty of their countrymen, prevail, till after seventeen years, when scarce 300 of them were

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Polybius,  
Legat. 105.  
137.

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dred sixty-  
six.

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sulship.  
Livy, B. 45.  
c. 32.

enlarged; of whom Polybius<sup>5</sup>, the historian, was one. All the rest had either died in confinement; or, for attempting to escape, had suffered death as malefactors.

To return to Æmilius. After Claudius and Domitius had performed their commission in Achaia, the proconsul convened a second general assembly of the Macedonians; and gave them a body of new laws for their better government: laws so wise, and so judiciously contrived, says Livy, that time and experience found nothing to correct in them. And the more effectually to secure the peace of the government, he ordered that all the chief nobles, all those who had been generals of armies, commanders of fleets and garrisons, or had been employed in embassies, or in any ministry under the king, should, on pain of death, with their children, (those above fifteen years of age) leave Macedon, and go into Italy. These men, accustomed to luxury and expense, to make servile court to the king, and to insult their inferiors, would, he thought, be impatient of that equality, which laws and liberty introduced.

After this the proconsul celebrated games at Amphipolis, and made sumptuous feasts for his friends; that is to say, for those who had betrayed the liberty of their country to the Romans. One part of the show was burning, in a great heap, all such of the Macedonian wea-

<sup>5</sup> Polybius had not been sent into Hetruria; Scipio and Fabius, the sons of Æmilius, having obtained leave for him to stay at Rome. *Polyb. Excerpt. B. 31.*



pons as he did not think worth carrying to Rome: another was exposing to view all the statues, paintings, and rich moveables, of which he had plundered the king's palaces; doubtless a most agreeable sight to the Macedonian spectators. All these magnificent spoils he gave in charge to Octavius, the admiral; and having exhorted the Macedonians to make a good use of the liberty granted them by the Romans, and preserve union among themselves; and having dispatched his son Fabius and Scipio Nasica to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had assisted Perses, [and to whom Anicius, by order of the senate, had granted pardon and liberty\*] he set out for Epirus.

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\* See page  
444.

The senate being desirous to preserve entire the Macedonian treasure, and yet to gratify the soldiers of Æmilius, had sent orders that all the towns of Epirus, which had favoured Perses, should be given up to be plundered by the army. To use the words of a great historian, "This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by Æmilius with mischievous subtilty." Being come to Passaron, he, by letter, communicated to Anicius, who lay encamped not far off, what was going to be done, that he might not be alarmed at the execution. He then dispatched, into the several towns, certain centurions, who were to pretend commission from him to withdraw the garri-sons, that the Epirots might be free like the Macedonians. The same officers had also instructions to send to him ten of the principal inhabitants of each town. To these, when they

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Livy, B. 45.  
c. 34.

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came, he gave strict command to see, that all the gold and silver, both in the temples and private houses, were, on a certain day, carried into the market-places of the respective towns; and (according to Appian) assured them, that, on their punctual obedience to this command, those towns should have a full pardon of all past faults. Under pretence of assisting these collectors in their business, and of furnishing a guard to take charge of the money, he sent with them some cohorts; contriving it so, that these cohorts should arrive at the respective towns at one and the same time. On the day appointed, and to the places appointed, the gold and silver was all brought, and delivered to the Roman officers; who then, pursuant to their instructions, gave the signal for the soldiers to pillage the houses, and seize the inhabitants. Seventy towns were sacked in one day, and 150,000 persons made slaves<sup>6</sup>. The walls of these places were afterwards demolished.

“ It may be granted, (says Sir W. R.) that some of the Epirots deserved punishment, as having favoured Perses. But since they among this people that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had been already sent into Italy, there to receive their due; and since this nation, in ge-

<sup>6</sup> When the booty came to be divided, the share of each foot soldier amounted, according to Livy, to 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* and of each horseman, to 12*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* of our money. But, according to the text of Plutarch, as we have it, each man's share came to no more than about 7*s.* It would seem, that neither of these reckonings can be true, if we suppose the slaves to have been sold for the benefit of the soldiery.

neral, was not only at the present in good obedience, but had, even in this war, done good service to the Romans; I hold this act so wicked<sup>7</sup>, that I should not believe it, had any one writer delivered the contrary.”

After this exploit, Æmilius marched to Oricum, where, being rejoined by Nasica and Fabius, he embarked with his whole army, and arrived safe in Italy. Anicius, and Octavius, with the fleet, followed him a few days after. The senate decreed triumphs to all three. But the triumph of Æmilius was opposed, in the assembly of the people, by his own soldiers, who complained of his excessive severity in discipline, and of his injustice in withholding from them the spoils of Macedon. Servius Galba, a tribune of the second legion, and a personal

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<sup>7</sup> Polybius, who was an intimate friend of Scipio, the son of Æmilius, reports, that the proconsul, with regard to what has been above related of the Ætolians and Achæans, did not approve of the calumnies brought by Lyciscus and Callicrates against their respective countrymen. And Plutarch tells us, that in this treatment of the Epirots, Æmilius acted contrary to his natural temper, which was gentle and humane: but he does not say, that Æmilius wept for the miseries of this wretched people, as he did, (when the shabby ambassadors came to him) for the humiliation of a king, whom the same historian represents as the most cowardly, avaricious, perfidious, cruel, ignominious tyrant that ever disgraced a throne. Æmilius is reported to have been disinterested, insomuch, that notwithstanding the great opportunities he had of amassing wealth, he died but moderately rich: it may be so. Cicero says, a disregard of wealth was the virtue of those times: but whatever virtues Æmilius possessed, it is very manifest, that the Roman senate never had an abler minister of execrable fraud and cruelty.



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enemy of the general, harangued for four hours against him. The question was not put till the second day; when, the *comitium* being thronged with soldiers, the first tribes that gave their suffrages refused the triumph. Hereupon the principal senators cried out, it was a shame to deny Æmilius an honour he had so well deserved; and that, at this rate, generals would become subject to the caprice and covetousness of their soldiers. M. Servilius, a man of consular dignity, and, if we may believe Plutarch, of such prowess that he had slain twenty-three enemies in single combat, prevailed with the tribunes of the commons to call back the tribes which had already voted, and make them give their suffrages anew. The same consular, with permission of the tribunes, made a long speech of expostulation to the people, and with such effect, that the tribes unanimously decreed a triumph to Æmilius.

The number and excellence of the statues and paintings, the costly vases, the rich arms, the great quantities of gold and silver exposed to view in this triumph, made it more pompous<sup>s</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Mr. Kennet, from Plutarch, gives us the following description of Æmilius's triumph.

“ The people erected scaffolds in the forum and circus, and all the other parts of the city, where they could best behold the pomp. The spectators were clad in white garments; all the temples were open, and full of garlands and perfumes; the ways cleared and cleansed by a great many officers and tipstiffs, that drove away such as thronged the passage, or straggled up and down. This triumph lasted three days: on the first, which was scarce long enough for the sight, were to be seen the statues, pictures, and images of an extraordinary bigness, which were taken

Pyrrhus takes a view of the Roman camp, and admires the order of it; and his confidence of success in the war being thereby abated, he resolves to wait for the junction of his allies before he hazards a battle; but the Romans force him to fight. He gains the victory by means of his elephants. III. After this success Pyrrhus forms designs upon Capua and Naples. Disappointed in these designs, he marches towards Rome with an intention to besiege it. But hearing that the consul Coruncanius, who had subdued all HETRURIA, is coming with his victorious army against him, he marches back into Campania, where Lævinus, having recruited his forces, offers him battle once more. The king declines it, and returns to Tarentum. IV. Hither Fabricius and two other senators from Rome come to treat with him concerning the ransom of prisoners. He has some private conversation with Fabricius. The king resolves to send Cyneas to Rome with proposals of peace, one of the conditions of which is to be a release of the Roman prisoners without ransom. Cyneas comes to Rome, and employs all his arts to effect his desires; but the senate, moved chiefly by a spirited speech of Appius Claudius the civilian, (now blind) unanimously refuse to enter into any treaty of peace with the king, while he continues in Italy. Cyneas returns to Tarentum, full of admiration of the Romans.

FABRICIUS.

APPIUS  
CLAUDIUS,  
THE BLIND.

## CHAP. XXVII.

I. The next year the Romans, under the conduct of their new consuls, P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, come to a second battle with king Pyrrhus, near ASCULUM in Apulia. The circumstances and event of this action are not well known. Pyrrhus retires to Tarentum, and the consuls into winter quarters. II. The year following, when C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus (both a second time) are consuls, the Carthaginians send a fleet to the assistance of the Romans against Pyrrhus, who, they fear, will invade their dominions in Sicily, if he should conclude a peace with the Romans. (He had been invited thither by the Sicilians.) The senate refuse the assistance offered, yet enter into a treaty with Carthage. III. The Romans and

474.

475.

Epirots having again taken the field, and the two armies lying in sight of each other in the territory of Tarentum, the consuls send a letter to the king, giving him notice of the treachery of his physician, who had offered to poison him for a reward. Pyrrhus, in return for their generosity, releases the Roman prisoners, and once more sends Cyneas to Rome with proposals of peace, but to no effect.

Pyrrhus  
goes into  
Sicily.

IV. Pyrrhus leaving a garrison in Tarentum, passes with his army into SICILY.

### CHAP. XXVIII.

- I. The state of Sicily at the time of Pyrrhus's arrival there. He makes rapid and extensive conquests in the island. II. In the mean time the Romans choose Cornelius Ruffinus and C. Junius Brutus to the consulate. These generals lead their forces against the Samnites, advantageously posted in their mountains, and suffer a shameful defeat. After this, Ruffinus by a stratagem takes Croton from the Bruttians. Locris submits to the Romans, the inhabitants having just massacred the garrison which Pyrrhus had left there. III. The Romans (under their new consuls, Q. Fabius Gurgus and C. Genucius) continuing the war with success against the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, these nations send to entreat Pyrrhus to return to their assistance. The king's affairs in Sicily being now in a bad way, he is glad of so honourable a pretext to leave the island. His fleet, in its return to Italy, is dispersed, and partly destroyed by the Carthaginian fleet. After his landing near Rhegium, he is attacked in his march to Tarentum, by a body of Mamertines (who had passed the streights expressly) and suffers a considerable loss. He lays waste the territory of the Locrenses, and plunders the temple of Proserpine. IV. Curius Dentatus (a second time) and L. Cornelius Lentulus are raised to the consulate at Rome. The people, from some unaccountable caprice, being unwilling to enlist themselves for the war, Curius confiscates the goods of the first man who refuses, and sells the man himself for a slave, and by this example of severity gets the better of the people's obstinacy. Two armies are raised. While Lentulus leads one into Lucania, Curius leads the

Returns to  
Italy.



other into Samnium, where he comes to a battle with the Epirots in the Taurasian fields, and gives them a total overthrow. He takes their camp; and the Romans admiring the form of it, resolve to make it the future model of their own. V. Pyrrhus leaving a strong garrison in Tarentum, embarks for Epirus under pretence of going to fetch recruits. Embarks for Epirus.

## CHAP. XXIX.

I. The consul Curius has a pompous triumph for his victory over king Pyrrhus, but he refuses what other rewards the senate offer him. Ruffinus, (who has been consul and dictator) is by the censors struck out of the list of senators for having too much silver plate. II. Curius is continued for another year in the consulate, and has for his colleague Cornelius Merenda. The Tarentines beginning to despise Pyrrhus, force the garrison he had left there to confine themselves in the citadel. Curius forces the Samnites and Lucanians to retire for refuge to their mountains. But they appear again in the field the next year, when C. Fabius Dorso and C. Claudius Carina are the Roman consuls. Claudius defeats them in a pitched battle. 479.

III. Ptolemy Philadelphus sends an embassy to Rome, to ask an alliance with the republic. The Romans send ambassadors into Egypt. 480.

IV. The new year's consuls, L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius (both promoted a second time) have scarce entered Samnium with two armies, when a certain account comes that Pyrrhus is dead. [The manner of his death is related.] This news throws the SAMNITES into despair; they put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby totally subdued by Papirius, after a war which had lasted 72 years. The BRUTTIANS and LUCANIANS submit soon after; and Papirius by negotiation prevails with Milo and the Tarentines to put their city and citadel into the hands of the Romans; after which the Carthaginians, whose fleet lay before Tarentum, and who seem to have had a design upon it, sail away from the coast. 481.

V. The consular fasces are transferred to Quinctius Claudius and L. Genucius; and the Romans being now in a condition to punish 482.

Death of  
PYRRHUS.

Samnites,  
Bruttians,  
&c. sub-  
jected to  
Rome.

- the perfidious Campanian legion, which had formerly seized RHEGIUM, besiege it, carry the place, restore it to those of the old inhabitants who had escaped the massacre, and put all who remain of the legion to death. VI. The following consulate of C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius produces nothing of moment; and the most memorable thing that happens under the administration of their successors, Q. Ogulnius and C. Fabius Pictor, is the coining of silver money at Rome for the first time. VII. The next year, when Appius Claudius (son of Appius the blind) and P. Sempronius Sophus are consuls, Picenum is totally subdued, and the Sabines are made entirely Roman, by being admitted to the right of suffrage in the Roman *comitia*. VIII. The consuls of the following year, L. Julius and M. Atilius Regulus, commence a war with the Salentines; and this nation, together with the Sarcinates in Umbria, being entirely subdued by the succeeding consuls, Numerius Fabius and D. Junius Pera, Rome becomes thereby mistress of all the countries in Italy from the remotest part of Hetruria to the Ionian sea, and from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Adriatic. IX. The republic is now courted by foreign states. The ambassadors from Apollonia in Macedon being insulted by some of the citizens of Rome, the offenders are delivered up to the Apolloniates, and a law is passed to make the like practice general in like cases. In the consulate of Q. Fabius Gurges and L. Mamilius Vitulus, the Romans regulate their finances, and appoint four provincial quæstors for the four provinces into which they divide Italy.

from the enemy, drawn upon 250 chariots. On the second was carried, in a great many waines, the fairest and the richest armour of the Macedonians, both of brass and steel, all newly furbished and glittering; which, although piled up with the greatest art and order, yet seemed to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance: helmets were thrown on shields, coats of mail upon greaves, Cretan targets, and Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows lay huddled among the horses' bits; and through these appeared the points of naked swords, intermixed with long spears. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that they knocked against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise; so that the very spoils of the conquered could not be beheld without dread. After these waggon loads laden with armour, there followed 3000 men, who carried the silver that was coined, in 750 vessels, each of which weighed three talents, and was carried by four men. Others brought silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, all disposed in such order as to make the best show, and all valuable, as well for their bigness, as the thickness of their engraved work. On the third day, early in the morning, first came the trumpeters, who did not sound as they were wont in a procession, or solemn entry, but such a charge as the Romans use when they encourage their soldiers to fight. Next followed young men girt about with girdles, curiously wrought, who led to the sacrifice 120 stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with ribbons and garlands; and with these were boys that carried platters of silver and gold. After this was brought the gold coin, which was divided into vessels that weighed three talents, like to those that contained the silver; they were in number fourscore wanting three. These were followed by those that brought the consecrated bowl, which Æmilius caused to be made, that weighed ten talents, and was all beset with precious stones: then were exposed to view the cups of Antigonus and Seleucus, and such as were made after the fashion invented by Thericles, and all the gold plate that was used at Perses's table. Next to these came Perses's chariot, in the which his armour was placed, and on that his diadem. And, after a little intermission, the king's children were led captives, and with

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than any that had preceded it<sup>9</sup>. What rendered it yet more glorious, was the person of

them a train of nurses, masters, and governors, who all wept, and stretched forth their hands to the spectators, and taught the little infants to beg and intreat their compassion. There were two sons and a daughter, who, by reason of their tender age, were altogether insensible of the greatness of their misery; which insensibility of their condition rendered it much more deplorable; insomuch, that Perses himself was scarce regarded as he went along, whilst pity had fixed the eyes of the Romans upon the infants, and many of them could not forbear tears: all beheld the sight with a mixture of sorrow and joy, until the children were past. After his children and their attendants, came Perses himself, clad all in black, and wearing slippers, after the fashion of his country: he looked like one altogether astonished, and deprived of reason, through the greatness of his misfortunes. Next followed a great company of his friends, whose countenances were disfigured with grief, and who testified to all that beheld them, by their tears, and their continual looking upon Perses, that it was his hard fortune they so much lamented, and that they were regardless of their own.—After these were carried 400 crowns, all made of gold, and sent from the cities, by their respective ambassadors, to Æmilius, as a reward due to his valour. Then he himself came seated on a chariot magnificently adorned, (a man worthy to be beheld, even without these ensigns of power:) he was clad in a garment of purple, interwoven with gold, and held out a laurel-branch in his right hand. All the army, in like manner, with boughs of laurel in their hands, and divided into bands and companies, followed the chariot of their commander, some singing odes (according to the usual custom) mingled with raillery; others songs of triumph, and the praises of Æmilius's deeds, who was admired and accounted happy by all men, yet unenvied by every one that was good." *Kennet. Antiq. P. II. B. 4. c. 16.*

<sup>9</sup> Authors are not agreed about the sum Æmilius brought into the treasury. Valerius Antias reckons this sum at

so considerable a monarch, as the king of Macedon, led in chains before the chariot of the victor. Perses had earnestly begged of Æmilius to spare him this indignity; and had received for answer, "That what he asked was in his own power."

It was the custom, that, when the triumphant conqueror turned his chariot up towards the capitol, he commanded the captives to be led to prison, and there put to death; that so the glory of the victor, and the misery of the vanquished, might be, in the same moment, at the utmost. But as Æmilius\* had encouraged Perses to an almost certain hope of life, from the known clemency of the Romans to conquered kings and nations; this king was only thrown into the common gaol at Alba [in the country of the Marsi.] "He was afterwards"<sup>10</sup>,

(*millies ducenties*) 120 millions of little sesterces\*. Livy thinks, from the number of waggons employed to carry it, that it must have been much more. Velleius Paterc. values it at (*bis millies centies*) 210 millions of little sesterces†; and Pliny at (*bis millies trecenties*) 230 millions of the same species‡. Cicero (*de Offic. L. 2. c. 22.*) tells us, that Æmilius brought so much money from Macedon, that the Roman people were no more taxed from that time. And Plutarch (in Æmil.) says, that they were not taxed till the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, *i. e.* the year after Julius Cæsar was killed, and of Rome 710. But this immunity from taxes was no doubt chiefly owing to the great tribute paid by the provinces, and the immense sums brought into the treasury, at several times, by Roman generals.

<sup>10</sup> Livy speaks, as if Perses, by the senate's direction, was decently lodged and entertained, even at his first going to Alba. *B. 45. c. 42.*

† 1,695,312*l.* 10*s.* Arbuthnot.

‡ 1,856,770*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

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Cic. in  
Verr. 5.  
30.

\* See p.  
434, 435.

Plut. et  
Diod. Sic.  
ap. Phot.  
\* 968,750*l.*  
Arbuthnot.

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sulship.  
Diod. Sicul.  
in frag.  
Sallust.  
frag. L. 4.

at the intercession of Æmilius, removed to a more commodious habitation; where, according to most authors, he starved himself, but, according to some, the soldiers who had him in custody destroyed him, by not suffering him to sleep." Thus writes Plutarch: Mithridates, in a letter to Arsaces, king of Parthia, says, "That the Romans, after many battles between them and Perses with various success, entered into a treaty with him; and though, upon the altars of Samothrace, they pledged the Roman faith for the safety of his person; yet did these subtle deceivers, these inventors of the arts of perfidy, put an end to the life of that prince, by depriving him of the necessary refreshment of sleep."

Livy, B. 45.  
c. 40.

The king's daughter and one of his sons died soon; it is uncertain how: his other son earned his living by following the trade of a working toymen; but was afterwards preferred to be a writing clerk in one of the offices at Rome. In such poverty ended the royal house of Macedon, about 160 years after the death of that monarch, to whose ambition this whole earth seemed too narrow.

Plut. Life  
of Æmil.

Æmilius Paullus, in the height of his glory, had the mortification to lose two sons; the one five days before his triumph, the other three days after it: a loss which he bore wisely, telling the people (when, according to custom, he gave them an account of his services) that, in the course of human things, great prosperities, such as they had lately experienced, being



usually followed by great adversity, he had prayed to the gods, that the calamities to be apprehended, might fall upon him, rather than on the public: that his triumph having been immediately preceded by the funeral of one of his sons, and closely followed by that of another, (so that, of four sons, not one remained to perpetuate his house and name; his two elder having passed by adoption into other families) he hoped the gods, satisfied with his private misfortune, would spare the commonwealth, and continue to make it flourish in all prosperity.

The triumph of Æmilius was soon followed by those of Octavius, admiral of the fleet, and Anicius, the conqueror of Illyricum. In the latter appeared king Gentius with his wife and children, and many of the Illyrian nobles; but Octavius had neither captives in his procession, nor spoils to adorn his show.

Among the prisoners taken in the Macedonian war, was a son of Cotys, king of the Ordrysiens in Thrace. Cotys sent ambassadors to apologize for his having aided the enemies of Rome. He alleged, in excuse, that he had been forced to give hostages to Perses; and he offered a ransom for his son, and for those hostages now in the hands of the Romans. The fathers answered, "That they had not forgot the ancient friendship between the republic and the Thracian kings his ancestors; that his having given hostages was the accusation, and would never serve for a defence; since Perses

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sulship.

Polybius  
Legat. 96.

could at no time be very formidable to the Thracians; least of all, when engaged in a war against the Romans; that though Cotys had preferred the friendship of the Macedonian king to that of Rome, yet they would less consider his demerit than what became their own dignity; that they would send back his son and the hostages; and that the gifts, bestowed by the Roman people, were always free; because they preferred the gratitude of the receivers to any compensation whatsoever."

The Romans having compassed all their views in that part of the world, it was much for their interest, that Cotys should cease to be their enemy, who might otherwise have disturbed their new settlement; and it cost them very little to make this parade of beneficence and magnanimity.

END OF VOL. V.









